

The Week

HOME 1-5
UGC warns Select Committee that further cuts would mean closures
Naffie wrangle over pay claim
More courses needed in teaching
English as a foreign language
600 attend art through design conference
Medical researchers have to dip into private funds

NORTH AMERICA 6
Emergency economies for California's universities
Leaked memo threatens 27 per cent cut in federal education budget
Senator suggests "peace academy" to image-conscious Reagan

OVERSEAS 7
Australian academics protest at government interference
Israeli students conservative about sex
Major changes in Tokyo's United Nations University

ARTICLES 8-13
Welcoming overseas students: how do we compare? (8)
Peter Abbs and Philip Meeson on education and the imagination, 11
Thatcher and Peel? Geoffrey Fulayson on the historical background to the Tory conflict, 12
Richard Rose on 'big government' and social policy, 13

BOOKS 14-18
R. I. Moore reviews two books, on medieval witch-hunts, and the legend of Joan of Arc, 14
Paul M. Hayes discusses politics in Denmark (15), R. P. Draper looks at the tradition of anti-theatrical prejudice (16), David Reeder discusses the athletic ideal of the Victorian public school (17), and John Hemmings reviews *Developing the Amazon* (18)

MATHEMATICS AND PHYSICS 19-22
The nature of matter, Newton's mathematical papers, the history of mathematics, X-ray astronomy, and atmospheric optics are among the subjects of new books in mathematics and physics

NOTICEBOARD 23
CLASSIFIED INDEX 24

OPINION 30-32
Patrick Nutgens on the cities and the planners; Keith Hampson on the vacuum in educational policy; and Don's Diary from Patricia Bevan of West Kent College of Further Education 30

Letters on teacher training, Malta, social work, teaching, fishery studies, and Jean Boscok of Nathe calls for more publicity, 31

Next week

Richard Thurlow on British fascism
Robin McKie meets William Shelton, the minister with responsibility for science
David Lodge on structuralism



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Try self-government first

Vice chancellors and others in positions of leadership in universities, when confronted by the cuts, seem to have been divided by temperament into two distinct groups. The first group tends to adopt the rather brisk and even abrasive management style pioneered so successfully by Sir Michael Edwards on the much larger stage of British Leyland. Important elements in this "shirt sleeves" style of university government are the exhortation to face harsh reality, the setting up of special committees to establish priorities (or draw up hit-lists?), and the quick, some would say precipitate, plunge into "action this day".

The second group keep their jackets firmly in place. They try to keep as low a profile as is consistent with the gravity of cuts which have been imposed on their universities. They continue to have faith, however limited, in traditional processes of university government. They deliberately do not make alarming statements about unacceptable deficits and (acceptable?) redundancies. Their natural inclination is to avoid at all costs playing the part of the managing director and instead to throw back the decision to the university as a whole, however inchoate it may appear.

There is, of course, something to be said for both styles of management but perhaps less to be said for the first than for the second, at least during the present academic year. The example of London where an early attempt at brisk management was made by the former vice-chancellor, Lord Annan, is not encouraging. It is difficult to believe that,

with the possible exception of the Flowers Report on medical education, more was achieved by direct action from Senate House than would have been achieved by quieter and more traditional means. It is interesting that the new vice-chancellor, Professor Quirk, faced with cuts more grave, seems to have adopted a less flamboyant and more consensual approach to the establishing of priorities.

The managing director style has two important defects. The first is that it maximizes opposition by making it appear that the decisions are being made quickly, abruptly, and without sensitivity to the peculiar nature of universities. The second and more important defect is that it encourages an unhealthy abdication of collective responsibility. If tough decisions are being taken, or are seen to be taken, by shirt sleeves vice-chancellor and his kitchen cabinet, it is very easy to stigmatize such decisions as coming from "management" as if a university were an industrial plant. The sad conclusion of such a mentality is likely to be not just that particular decisions or priorities are resisted but that the need for tough decisions of any description is denied in the process.

In this sense the "managing director" vice-chancellor and the more myopic elements in the Association of University Teachers need and encourage each other. For the other side of the coin is the irresponsible and short-sighted assumption by some AUT members of the role of "workers". From there it is an easy step to the silly and really rather disgraceful advice given by the AUT

to its members that they should not take part in any decisions that might possibly involve redundancies - which, in effect, means any decisions at all about future priorities in about half the universities. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that university teachers have an exceptional degree of freedom in their jobs, careers, and institutions; that they are in practice collectively their own employers; and that this privilege, responsibly exercised, is not only a powerful reinforcement of their rights of employees but also close to the heart of an independent university tradition.

So the most powerful objection to the Michael Edwards style of university management is that it is, for the moment at any rate, inappropriate. After all it will be next academic year, not this, which will be the crunch year for university finances. For the moment the best course is to trust in the traditional processes of university government. These may not work. They certainly will not work if the bulk of university teachers play at being workers without any collective responsibility for the future of their institutions. But these traditional methods for securing agreement must be tried, not for shallow tactical reasons because they will command the most respect and so excite the least opposition, but because if they fail the alternative is the attenuation of academic democracy, and so of institutional freedom, and so finally of academic freedom. Then will be time enough for the Michael Edwardses to try to succeed where self-government has failed.

A year of dithering

It is now a little over a year since the Select Committee on Education brought out its report on higher education. The 101 pages represented the first comprehensive examination of the system since Robbins and, without pressing for anything revolutionary, contained the blueprint for a more positive approach to higher education even in times of continuing financial stricture.

The Government's response, in two stages to allow closer consideration of the case for a national body, was slow and negative. The first, in January, gave little encouragement to any of the committee's 46 recommendations, while the long-awaited Green Paper on national planning for the polytechnics and colleges bore little resemblance to the MPs' preferred solution.

In particular, the Department of Education and Science option of centralized control of the major institutions was in direct contrast to the committee's recommendation. The creation of a new, independent

local authorities, would destroy the concept of the seamless robe of education, to which members attached considerable importance. The fact that the outline for a temporary national body looks more like the Select Committee's proposal must be gratifying to the MPs but does not alter the fact that the plans for permanent arrangements remain on the table and sharply at variance with their ideas. If the interim machinery is translated into permanence it will be a happy accident and no more.

Not even the members of the committee would have expected all their recommendations to have found a receptive audience at Elizabeth House. Some, indeed, could not have been implemented in the space of a year, while others necessarily remain the subject of further consideration.

Yet the fundamental tenor of the report does appear to have been ignored. The MPs wanted above all to see a new spirit of openness in

decision making, measures to increase the age participation rate and a lead by Government to set the scene for the 1980s in higher education. None of these aspirations seems even on the horizon. Policy is exclusively expenditure led for all of Sir Keith Joseph's much publicized reassessment of the nature of education, the reasoning behind major decisions is as well guarded as ever and the decline in student numbers is accepted or even encouraged.

After the dismissive way in which the Government treated two Select Committee reports on overseas students, perhaps one should not be surprised. Many would say that the main value of the committees is to use their authority to draw back the veil of secrecy surrounding government and in this there have been notable successes. Nevertheless, the report deserved a better fate and would be more profitable reading for Sir Keith than many of the discredited, outdated schemes which seem to be occupying his time.

Goodbye to Fulbright

Critics of the recent UGC cuts ought to remember that open government is not an infallible protection against foolish decisions. The United States Congress will be voting this week on a brace of bills which would virtually extinguish the nation's major academic exchange programmes with overseas countries in order to cushion its propaganda broadcasting through the Voice of America from the real impact of Mr Reagan's economic policy.

The Fulbright Programme, which in its long and distinguished history has brought 35 foreign heads of government and 600 cabinet ministers to study in the United States, is to be reduced by more than a half, with 61 of the 120 participating nations eliminated entirely. The Humphrey fellowships, which provide public ser-

vice training to more than 100 Third World students a year, is to close. It is more rather than less worrying that the cuts are being made openly and without subterfuge in the full glare of congressional scrutiny. Had the decisions been made privately they could always have been blamed on the folly of a particular group of administrators. If Congress approves them, however, they will be interpreted in the developing world as an accurate reflection of the most unfortunate shift of values in American public life.

Critics of the planned reductions have of course been quick to point out that even in the narrow terms of United States security and foreign policy interests the cuts are likely to be self-defeating, since they will strike at America's ability to influ-

ence the political leaders and intellectuals of the developing countries on which America's foreign policy is increasingly focused. Would Sheikh Yamani have been as pliable if he had not gone to Harvard but had learned about American society through the Voice of America?

But it would be wrong to base a defence of the international exchanges only on the folly of driving developing nations reluctantly into the embrace of the Soviet Union. The exchange programmes should be kept alive not because of their influence on the ideological battle between East and West, but because they are an absolutely vital source of knowledge and skills for nations whose future depends on the availability of capable and wise leaders.

Laurie Taylor



Sweetie-ple?
Won't be a second, darling. Must do this properly.

What's that?
The letter to our MP.
You've been at it for hours. It's a very important letter.

Don't I know it. But didn't you show me a standard one you just had to copy out and sign. "As a fellow member of the AUT I wish to draw your attention to the effects of the Government's new higher education policy upon my peace of mind. Yours sincerely, Tanned of Orington."

It's not as simple as that.
No?

I thought a personal touch might work better.

Might work better with Butress?

Yes.
Old Butress? Send-the-gun-boats Butress? Hang-flat-and-bomb-the-wog Butress? You must be joking.

Well you never know. He might take a liberal line on universities.

Liberal line? Low-flying Butress? From what I know of him, he's probably in favour of a Royal Charter for Buckingham College, high interest loans for working class students at the repatriation of Ralf Dahrendorf. Anyway, I'll leave you to it. Just one little thing.

Yes?
Gloves.
Gloves?

Will you want your suede pair for Wednesday?

Oh no. I shouldn't think so. Bare hands will do.

But I thought you were a reserve on banner-holding. Could be a bit nippy. The wind really sweeps up Whitehall you know. Wouldn't look good if you keeled over with exposure on the steps of the Cenotaph.

Well all right. Perhaps the navy woolen ones.

And you'll be wearing that old C & A greatcoat?

That's right. Any objection?
No. None at all. Perish the thought. It's just that it doesn't perhaps have quite the same street credibility as at the time of Sue. Still it looks warm. Very warm.

That's the point.

Quite so. And just one other thing. Those old climbing boots by the door.

Yes?

Are they there for any purpose?

For Wednesday.

Wednesday?

Ideal for marching. Just the thing.

Oh, the crowning touch. I mean it was a stroke of genius having your sandwiches wrapped in greaseproof paper but goodness knows what will be the effect upon informed political opinion of you clomping through the corridors of power dressed up as Wilf Tyler.

Anything else?

One teeny weeny thing.

Yes?

Well darling, if the revolution looks like starting, you know, a few street barricades, a bit of sulphur fire, think you could possibly give me a little ring. Then I can pop your little ring in the oven. Best to be on the safe side.

The Times Higher Education Supplement

November 20, 1981 No 472 Price 45p

Double standard row sparked by UMIST memo

by Ngalo Crequer
Admissions tutors at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology have been told they may have to recruit overseas students of a lower standard than that expected of home students to make up for the fall in overseas numbers.

In a memorandum to all tutors Professor Harold Hankins, deputy principal, warns however that, "the gap between home and overseas student should not be one which holds back the normal teaching process, otherwise academic standards will fall and UMIST's reputation will suffer."

At a stormy meeting this week of the board of faculty staff expressed deep disquiet. They told the dean, Professor John Hearle, that it constituted a directive to recruit as many overseas students as possible by lowering standards and establishing low scales of quality.

But this situation may very well be one that other universities will have to face - the problem of strict targets and improved quality for home students, against the attraction of overseas students whose fees provide desperately needed extra income.

In the past, just under one-third of UMIST's students have come from overseas. It charges £300 more than the recommended minimum but this year there has been a shortfall of about 150 students.

It was this that prompted the memorandum. Professor Hankins

emphasized the need to increase overseas numbers for next year to at least the 1980-1 level, and to associate this increase with quality.

He wrote: "With a ceiling on home and EEC students, there is every prospect that the quality at entry will rise and it may not be possible therefore to recruit an increased number of overseas students of the same measured quality."

"The quality of the overseas student at entry must therefore be a matter for your judgment and past experience. It is quite acceptable to recruit overseas students with a measured quality which, in previous years, has led to academic success for such students."

There was further controversy at the meeting when the dean refused to say which courses were due to be discontinued.

A motion was passed calling for a new replacement body more acceptable to staff to make decisions on the cuts and this will now go to Manchester University senate.

Professor Robert Hasseldine, UMIST principal said: "For 1982/3 the entry standards for overseas students will be no lower than for the current session. One admissions tutor said he understood the letter to mean that we were to maintain standards."

In 1980-81 UMIST had 480 undergraduate overseas students and 451 postgraduate, and in 1981-2 372 undergraduate and 413 postgraduate overseas students.

David Lodge on post structuralism, 14

Ernest Gellner on the Islamic State, 12

Richard Thurlow on British fascism, 11

Course dossier 'an act of revenge'

by Olga Wojtas
Scottish Correspondent

Allegations by former social work students at Glasgow University that their course was intolerable and irrelevant, and that the staff lacked common human feeling, have been described as "an act of revenge" by the head of department.

Professor Fred Martin suggested that the document of complaints had been drawn up as a result of two of the 19 students failing the diploma course. "Many staff recognized from an early stage that this was not an easy group of students to relate to. It was academically the weakest group that anyone could remember."

The students sent the document, which claims staff showed a marked incapacity to demonstrate the caring values of the social work profession, to the Central Council on the Education and Training of Social Workers, the British Association of Social Workers, external examiners, members of Glasgow's senate, and new students on the second day of their course.

"To wait until they've got their qualifications and gone to jobs seems to me a most destructive way of handling things," said Professor Martin. He added that none of them during the two year course, nor had there been any complaints from ten of the students. One diplomat in involved with the document had ap-



Nailo workers join the march in Chelsea (left) and AUT president John Reilly hands a letter of protest in to Downing Street

Unions muscle in on debate

by David Jobbins

Thousands of lecturers, students, and university workers left ministers and MPs in no doubt of the strength of their opposition to the cuts in an unparalleled demonstration of campus unity.

From all over Britain they converged on Westminster for a lobby of Parliament and mass rallies in the Central and Caxton Halls. Speaker after speaker from the political parties and campus unions condemned the Government for hitting opportunities for young people, hopes for wider access to higher education, and jobs.

The demonstration, staged by the 10 campus unions representing 100,000 staff and more than 250,000 students, was one of the biggest ever on a higher education issue.

Meanwhile in the Commons the Opposition launched a full-scale attack on Conservative ministers' approach to higher education.

It called on MPs to reassess the Robbins principle and reverse Government policies "which destroy opportunity and contradict the economic, technical and scholastic needs of the nation."

But a counter motion, led by Education Secretary Sir Keith Joseph, "regretfully accepting" the need for higher education to contribute to public spending restraint was carried without difficulty.

The Government's motion welcomed the commitment to ensuring effective control of resources to maintain the highest possible standards and to adjust the university

system in favour of science and engineering.

The tone was set in the Commons on Tuesday when Opposition leader Mr Michael Foot called for an immediate review of policies which he said were undermining a principle accepted by every government for the last 20 years that higher education should be available for those able and willing to use it.

Mrs Thatcher said Sir Keith had promised that he would consider alternative ways of saving the money. More than £900m was a lot to be spending on universities and she added: "I have no doubt there will continue to be a large measure of university education for those young people who need it, and also higher education in the polytechnics and other colleges of advanced education."

The Association of University Teachers estimated that about a third of its 34,000 members were at the lobby. More than 7,500 had arrived in nine special trains and a fleet of 60 coaches. Among them were 100 from Aberdeen.

Up to 20 university vice chancellors were believed to be present, and the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals sent a telegram of support stating it fully shared the "dismay and indignation at the Government's calamitous policies."

"We believe it to be profoundly contrary to the interests of the nation... of access to higher education and denying scientists and scholars the opportunity to use their skills."

Mr Robert Rhodes James, Conservative party liaison officer for higher and further education told the rally he was not covering behind the UGC.

"I am not blaming them for the decisions they made though I think some of them are rather strange."

Mr Neil Kinnock, Labour's education spokesman, told non-teaching staff that academics who regarded the cuts as a cleansing process were fools. "They remind me of passengers on the Titanic who gave a standing ovation to the iceberg. They are asking for their own extermination."

Mr Michael Foot, Labour leader told the AUT rally that a future Labour government would extend rather than attack the Robbins principle.

"The Government's attack on universities is the most short-sighted, barbaric, and irresponsible action in its two-and-a-half years in office," he said.

AUT general secretary Mr Laurie Sepper, told a rally: "The Department of Education and the UGC have either gone off their collective heads or they are attempting to turn the whole university system into one big lunatic asylum by the twists, turns and contradictions in their thinking and actions."

Dr David Owen of the Social Democratic Party said: "The Government must urgently ask the UGC to think again about the distribution of the cuts and ease the cut back for the technologically-based universities."

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Teacher shortage forecast

by Patricia Santinelli

A huge increase in the number of postgraduates training to be primary school teachers will be needed in the late 1980s if current BEd output is maintained, a confidential Department of Education and Science paper revealed this week.

The paper was presented to all members of the Advisory Committee for the Supply and Education of Teachers meeting for the first time since Sir Keith Joseph reduced the recommended cuts in the 1982 Postgraduate Certificate of Education intake from 25 per cent to 20 per cent.

The DES agrees with the committee that a major shift from secondary to primary and back will be necessary over the next two decades.

the current BEd output of 5,500 went into primary teaching, it would meet only 49 per cent of the anticipated needs of primary schools in the late 1980s estimated at 8,100 and 38 per cent of the expected needs of 10,500 in the early 1990s.

So if the need is to be met without increasing BEd numbers the DES estimates that at least some 4,000 primary PGCE-trained teachers will be needed and at most, based on a BEd output of 1,000, some 7,000. PGCE-trained teachers.

In the early 1990s this would mean at least some 6,500 PGCE-trained primary teachers and at most 9,500. All these calculations assumed that 90 per cent of newly trained primary teachers were willing and available to teach in schools.

continued on page 3

Chemists pool ideas to get fresh faces

by Robin McKie
Science Correspondent

A central pool of lecturers, directly funded by the University Grants Committee, could be established to ease universities through their present financial crisis, the chairman of the heads of university chemistry departments, Monty Fray, has proposed.

The scheme, which he is now discussing with the UGC, would be aimed at improving the age structure of chemistry departments, particularly those involving chemistry. With no new appointments being made at many universities, it is proving extremely difficult to attract bright young chemists to departments, even as short-term post-doctoral students.

Professor Fray said his scheme would involve the UGC specially earmarking funds for an initially small pool of young lecturers who would be directly selected and appointed by the committee itself. Interested university departments would also be scrutinized by the UGC and those selected to take the directly-funded lecturers would be responsible for giving them permanent appointments after five years.

The scheme would therefore help introduce young scientists into departments, bringing new ideas and attitudes which would be important in overcoming the current ageing staff structures at university. Potential post-doctoral researchers who are presently being discouraged from academic projects because they see no prospects of permanent jobs there, would also be encouraged to take up short-term research projects at universities again.

Professor Fray added that a time when university departments were having to make very difficult decisions on how best to cut expenditure, the central pool scheme would be particularly useful as it would involve an external body, the UGC, in selecting applicants and departments. As the UGC fixed money for equipment purchase for departments, there was also a clear precedent for earmarking funds.

Natfhe declares war on rates control Bill

The college lecturers' union this week condemned Government plans to curb local authority rate demands as a grave threat to public sector higher education.

An emergency motion passed by the council of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education said that efforts by the Environment Secretary, Mr Michael Heseltine, to cut local government spending posed an attack on local democracy.

It urged the union to cooperate with other public sector trade unions in the campaign against the Local

Scots dons press for debate

by Olga Wojtas
Scottish Correspondent

Thirteen academics from Scottish University education departments have expressed concern at the increasing centralization of power and control exercised over their research by the Scottish Education Department.

Academics from Glasgow, Dundee and the Open University, including Professor Nigel Grant, head of Glasgow's education department, have issued a letter which they hope will stimulate debates about the SED's role. They claim that the relationship between the department and the research community seems to be moving towards cooption rather than cooperation.

One of the signatories, Mr David Hamilton of Glasgow's Education Department, said that as money from the SED for research had increased over the past ten years, greater initiatives had come from the centre.

"Less consideration is given to people putting up their own research

proposals than to those proposals that come from the top," he said. This has been more pronounced in education than in any other branch of the Scottish Office, not all of whom required a research steering committee unlike the SED.

The letter expresses concern over a scheme inaugurated two years ago by Scottish Education Minister Mr Alex Fletcher to provide micro-computer systems for projects at various Scottish schools and colleges. This had a steering committee with a majority of SED personnel, and the academics asked why an external evaluator's report was restricted to this steering committee.

"Is this simply a one-off or is it the shape of things to come?" said Mr Hamilton. "In Scotland there is no buffer body such as the English Schools Council, and we need some kind of public accountability for what's going on, and freedom of information in the research community."

The academics asked whether Scottish education is moving towards

a climate where research is bought rather than sponsored.

Mr Fletcher has replied that the evaluator's report was intended as a list of first impressions of points of possible difficulty, not a balanced assessment of the project as a whole.

The academics' letter has been criticized by Professor Noel Entwistle of Edinburgh University's education department who says his own experience of having advisory committees on SED-funded projects has been that they "provide useful advice and in no way inhibit the freedom of the researcher to reach independent judgments."

Professor Entwistle added: "If we are to have a public discussion about the research policy of the SED, I should be happy to join in. A starting point of discussion would, however, have to be a careful analysis of the whole range of SED-funded research, and the collective experience of researchers working on SED projects about their freedom to carry out their work without hindrance."

The academics asked whether

Industry loses 16 out of 23 boards

The closure of 16 of the 23 statutory industrial training boards and their replacement by voluntary arrangements was announced by the Secretary of State for Employment this week.

The boards, which are to be wound down during 1982-83, cover air transport and travel, carpet, cotton and mineral products, chemical and textiles, distribution, drink and tobacco, footwear, leather and furs, furniture and timber, iron and steel, knitting and lace, paper and paper products, printing and publishing, shipbuilding, wool, zinc and flux.

The seven boards which are to be retained will cease receiving state funding and become dependent on their respective industries from March 1982. They cover clothing, construction, engineering, hotel and catering, road transport, rubber and plastics processing and petroleum.

Jobs express

Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has agreed to meet some of the 375 young unemployed who will be touring Britain on the TUC's Jobs Express later this month.

The week-long circuit of the country's unemployment blackspots will culminate with a rally in London on November 29, and Mrs Thatcher will meet a delegation from jobs youngsters on the specially-charted train the following day.

Class conflict

The congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain this week condemned the "class-based" nature of the university cuts accused Minister of a "flagrant breach" of the Robbins principle.

"These cuts have been directed with special ferocity against those universities which cater for working class people," a resolution from Bradford University Staffs branch said.

The University Grants Committee was "reinforcing the elitist character of the system, the party said.

Engineering award

A Southampton University student, Miss Susan Collier, who is studying first-year mechanical engineering, has been awarded an engineering industry training board award for women. She worked with British Rail before starting university, chose high speed trains as the subject of her essay entry and is to continue her professional training with BR during holidays.

Art design prize

Three students from Newcastle Polytechnic's department of graphic design have won top prizes in the 1981 Sign Centre Design Awards competition. First prize of £500 was won by Susan Peace, and third and fourth prizes went to David Riddle and Timothy Williams. The award for best overall entry went to Maidstone College of Art.

Chinese visit

Professor Fel Hsiao-Tung of the Chinese Central Institute for Nationalities is visiting Keele University this week as part of his programme as a guest of the British Academy. Professor Fel, who is a member of the People's Political Consultative Conference and a founding president of the new Chinese Society of Sociology, will also be visiting Oxford and Cambridge.

Academic insight

A conference on "University and Industry", organized by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, was held yesterday at Imperial College, London. Speakers included Lord Flowers, rector of Imperial, Sir Raymond Penneck, president of the Confederation of British Industry, and Professor Ralph Dahrendorf, director of the London School of Economics.

Engineers appeal for extra funds

by Robin McKie
Science Correspondent

Engineering courses are now being threatened because University Grants Committee cuts are affecting their resources disproportionately, engineering professors have warned.

At a recent meeting, the Engineering Professors' Conference urged the UGC to specially earmark funds for engineering to protect the discipline against the general effects of university finance reductions.

Professor Robert Smith, chairman of the conference, said the UGC had demanded a 10 per cent cut in resources for all disciplines. "Information gathered from individual universities shows that engineering departments will have to bear a decrease of 10 per cent at the very least."

"The result may well be to make a number of courses no longer viable since engineering education demands laboratory and design office work for which the proposed UGC funding levels are totally inadequate."

The professors also claim that engineering only receives 80 per cent of the funding that the physical sciences receive and that in future engineering should get more funds than physical sciences.

Professor Smith also flatly contradicted the view of Dr Edward

Parkes, chairman of the UGC, that numbers of engineering places were being increased both relatively and absolutely. Although it was possible that numbers of engineering places might rise relative to the reduced numbers of overall student places, the absolute figure would drop.

The professors believe the UGC's error is based on their use of 1979-80 figures as baseline, despite the rise in engineering students numbers in the subsequent two years. Using October 1981 entry figures, there was no doubt UGC instructions to universities would cause a drop of several per cent in home students taking engineering.

The conference also expressed concern about the severe effects of natural wastage of staff caused by the freezing of posts and other cost-cutting moves. In engineering departments, many young staff were attracted by high industrial salaries and also their policy of recruiting engineers with substantial industrial experience meant that many staff were now eligible for early retirement.

"Without strong university management there is a very real risk of engineering departments being reduced to mere skeletons through natural wastage", Professor Smith said.

SSRC urged to abandon its 'narrow outlook'

Social science research will be harmed unless the Social Science Research Council sheds its narrow view of the scope of policy-related research, a group of distinguished social scientists said this week.

The 12 members of the Social Science Action Committee voiced their views in a critical nine-page statement responding to the SSRC's decision to change its subject committee structure.

The radical reforms announced by the SSRC last month in its document *The Change in Structure for Changing Circumstances* marked a significant shift in policy away from a discipline-based system to a more subject-related and problem-solving approach. The existing 15 subject committees are to be replaced by six multi-disciplinary standing committees.

In its statement the group is concerned that immediate policy research should be the function of Government departments. It emphasizes that the SSRC should have a wider role which rests on its direct relationship with universities and polytechnics.

"It is important that a proper distinction should be made both in the minds of the council and in the eyes of the academic community between what the SSRC ought to do and what Government departments ought to do," the committee says.

"The development of ideas through research will only be harmed unless a broader and more clear-sighted view of the scope of policy-related research is adopted together with a much sharper understanding of the importance of a basis of firm knowledge on which it must rest."

The group's signatories include Professor Katharine Jones, professor of social administration at York University; Dr William Taylor, director of London University Institute of Education; Professor Royden Harrison, professor of social history at Warwick University; Professor Frank Bealey, professor of political science at Aberdeen University. The committee is chaired by Professor Margaret Stacey, professor of sociology at Warwick University and president of the British Sociological Association, and includes polytechnic and Open University representatives.

The group acknowledges that multi-disciplinary approach has an important part to play in research, but fears that research directed towards the development of individual disciplines may fall outside the new structure.

A campaign is underway to stop a party of British academics from attending a conference on the philosophy of religion, organized by the Unitarian Church - or Moonies - in Hawaii in the new year.

Professor Anthony Flew of Reading University, accused of lending a veneer of respectability to an organization which has persuaded many young British students to leave their homes and studies.

Similar criticisms were directed at Professor Flew and Professor Kenneth Mellanby of Monks Wood experimental station after they took part in a Moonies conference in Seoul, Korea, last week.

One of the campaign leaders is a Kent teacher, Mr Casey McCann from Sevenoaks School. Mr McCann, who claims to have brought two ex-pupils of his school back from America to continue their studies.

This would mean that on their

Cuts 'cripple future research'

by Ngaio Crequer

Three or four dozen institutions at London University are under threat because of the spending cuts, the university's vice-chancellor, Professor Randolph Quirk, warned this week at the House of Commons cuts lobby.

Work of national importance was also threatened. "We cannot afford to make this the year of the disabled universities, the year when we cripple our future by paralysing the central nervous system of British research and developments."

Vital research in brain damage, micro-electronics, industrial disease, and many other excellent by national and world standards, was in danger of being stopped, he said.

At Birmingham, the early retirement has been stopped because the university has run out of money to pay compensation. So far a handful of academics have qualified, at a cost of £130,000. More than 300 jobs are threatened.

Chelsea College senate, has been told by its finance officer that bills totalling £800,000 had been received which could not be paid. It needs to borrow £2m to survive the next twelve months.

The principal has brought in experts to assess the quality of all departments.

At Salford, Prince Philip, the chancellor is to launch the second stage of CAMPUS, the campaign to promote the university. It is to be formally constituted as a trust under the chairmanship of Mr Alan Veale, managing director of GEC Power Engineering.

Sheffield University has decided to dispose of surplus land or buildings. Manchester has estimated that unless corrective measures are taken its deficit in 1983-4 would be £8m. It is considering suggestions for staff to forego salary awards or covenant part of their salaries to the university. The science faculty has called for urgent changes in the arrangements

for making the cuts. The student union said that hundreds of students would be occupying the John Rylands library on Wednesday.

The Conference of University Convocations have sent a telegram to the prime minister expressing their deep anxiety about the cuts.

In a last ditch attempt to make Sir Keith Joseph change his mind, the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals wrote to him to say it would be impossible to maintain the quality of teaching and research against the time-scale of the cuts.

The "appalling wastefulness" of the cuts meant that research in the most prestigious universities would be damaged, and that students who previously found places were being turned away.

The under secretary for higher education, Mr William Waldegrave, is to meet the principals of the eight Scottish universities in Edinburgh on November 27.

DES reveals details of national body

Details of the machinery of the national planning body for polytechnics and colleges were unveiled in a public statement this week from the Department of Education and Science.

The main body of the Interim Committee for Local Authority Higher Education will consist of three representatives from each of the local authority association and will be chaired by Mr William Waldegrave, under secretary for higher education.

The second-tier board of officials will consist of six members from each of the three main representative areas: the DES (including Her Majesty's Inspectorate); local education authority officials; and the institutions.

The DES has written to the three bodies representing the heads of institutions offering two places to the Committee of Directors of Polytechnics, and one each to the Association of Principals of Colleges and the Standing Conference of Principals and Directors of Colleges and Institutes of Higher Education.

There will also be two representatives from the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, and one each from the Confederation of British Industry and the Trades Union Congress. The Council for National Academic Awards will have one place, and there will be one representative from the other validating bodies.

The University Grants Committee will also be represented, and the DES says it intends to involve the direct grant and voluntary institutions.

The identity of the chairman of the second-tier board of officials is expected to be announced in ten days' time.

Challenge to councils

The local authority associations should refuse to agree to a new national planning body for colleges and polytechnics until the Government revises its plans to limit local authority spending.

This was the challenge thrown down by Mr Phillip Whitehead MP, Opposition spokesman on higher education, to the meeting of metropolitan local education authorities in Oldham last week.

The resources allocated to the committee seemed to him if it was to be genuinely independent and have a strong secretariat which could match the influence of the University Grants Committee.

Mrs Nicky Harrison, chairman of the Association of Metropolitan Authorities' education committee, said afterwards that it would take her of Mr Whitehead's words of caution but would not be taking up the challenge.



Lord Butler of Saffron Walden unveils an oil portrait of himself at St. Mary's College, Twickenham on Tuesday.

Crosby candidate hits union trouble

The president of Middlesex Polytechnic students' union is fighting a move to finance a candidate in the forthcoming Crosby by-election with union funds.

Mr Nick Harvey also faces a union vote of no confidence in him next week which could remove him from office.

Mr Harvey, who took out an injunction last year to prevent Middlesex union funds from going to the Irish republican socialist movement, is consulting lawyers about the planned payment of £150 to support Mr John Kennedy, a third year student, who is standing as a Middlesex Polytechnic Suspended Students candidate.

At the meeting, it was also agreed to accept the conclusion of the Way report, which proposed that Middlesex and University College should form a joint school while St Mary's medical school should remain independent.

The distribution was proposed a special three man committee consisting of Professor L. P. LeQueune, dean of medicine; Dr M.P. Godfrey, dean of the Royal Postgraduate Medical School; and Dr David Innes-Williams, director of the British Postgraduate Federation.

It recommended the following redistribution of pre-clinical places: St Mary's medical school from 94 to 100; Middlesex-University, 221 to 195; St George's, 85 to 150; Westminster-Charles Cross, 120 to 155; St Bart's-London, 248 to 200; Guy's-St Thomas's, 207 to 195; King's College, 134 to 105; and Royal Free, 106 to 100.

As a result of this realignment of pre-clinical students, the distribution of clinical students in London will be changed to: St Mary's 100; Middlesex-University College, 215; St George's, 180; Westminster-Charles Cross, 175; St Bart's-London, 250; Guy's-St Thomas's, King's College, 115; and Royal Free, 100.

It is expected that these figures will set the pattern for future medical education in London.

London to train fewer doctors

Major cuts in intakes of pre-clinical students at three medical schools have been agreed as part of the London University's final arrangements for re-organizing medical education in the city.

The reductions were agreed at last week's meeting of the joint planning committee and will mean that King's College's pre-clinical intake will drop from 134 to 105; Middlesex-University College joint school's from 221 to 195; and St Bartholomew's-London medical school from 248 to 200.

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Dilemma for disabled student

A disabled student may have to give up her studies because of travelling problems.

Sharon Hughes, an-MED student in the Department of Educational Guidance at Manchester University, has twice advertised without success for a lift from her home in Bolton to the university.

Ms Hughes, who is a partially-sighted spastic, and walks with elbow crutches, travels into Manchester four days a week. The journey takes 2 1/2 hours and involves two buses and a 15-minute walk. An alternative journey by train would present even more problems. She fears that a revised timetable in the new year will mean doing the journey five days a week.

In a letter to the student union newspaper she wrote: "As the weather becomes colder bringing snow and ice I am afraid that it may

BBC probes the road to equality

The BBC is to broadcast five programmes, starting at the end of this month, which look at whether policies like the establishment of mandatory grants and the abolition of the 11 plus, equalized opportunity.

In *A Question of Equality*, presented by Patrick Nottgens, director of Leeds Polytechnic, education experts will discuss whether these policies have succeeded in their aims.

In the first programme Eric Midwinter, writer and educationalist, argues that social class is still all-important and that the education system failed to produce equality of opportunity. The second, by Lord Vaizey, professor of economics at Brunel University, and Lord Brunsell, editor of *The Times Educational Supplement*, discuss the

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Debate on PhD grants

The main issue to be debated by the Scottish council of the National Union of Students this weekend will be postgraduate grants, cut this year by between 10 and 20 per cent.

A motion tabled by the Scottish executive condemns as unjust the SED's setting of quotas, and says that grants should be awarded to all students who have achieved the necessary qualifications to take a postgraduate course.

Vocational courses, says the executive, play a vital role in the gaining and transfer of skills in society, and providing such courses also help alleviate graduate unemployment.

The motion also calls on institutions to inform potential postgraduates whether or not they have been recommended for a grant, so that those who have not can pursue other courses and jobs. It also states that university and college authorities should not operate secret reserve lists.

This follows NUS claims that many students who had been accepted for postgraduate courses this session discovered as term began that they had not been awarded an SED grant. Institutions maintained that the offers were unconditional academically, and that their forms for postgraduate courses stated that financing the course was the student's responsibility.

A Scottish Education Department spokesman said the SED was given lists by the institutions of all students given unconditional offers. Some institutions had divided the lists into



Drawn from experience. Hilary Rosen, a part-time London art teacher, has used her experience of working as a waitress in a seedy hotel to produce a set of drawings included in her exhibition at Brighton Polytechnic until November 28.

Talks fail to placate students

by David Jobbins

Student leaders are still apprehensive about Government plans to curb spending on mandatory awards despite being told by education undersecretary Mr William Waldegrave this week that they had presented a reasonable case for their 17.4 per cent claim.

The National Union of Students has been attacked by the Federation of Conservative Students for submitting an "unrealistic" claim. FCS chairman Mr Tim Linares called for a 4 per cent increase in line with the public sector pay guidelines.

"We cannot see why students, who are a fairly privileged minority, should be treated better than for instance British Leyland workers,"

he said.

"We accept that financial problems will arise for some students whose parents do not make their full contribution and will continue to press for a supplementary loans system operated through the banks."

The NUS claim would increase the maximum grant out of London from £1,535 to £1,803, while the London maximum would rise from £1,825 to £2,142.

NUS president Mr David Aaronovitch spoke of his "total depression" after the meeting with Mr Waldegrave. "We felt we were shadow-boxing. The critical decisions were being made elsewhere"

He feared the grants budget could be cut by as much as £100m with

decisions being made in the Treasury and on other than educational criteria.

Options open to the Government are abolition of the £140 minimum grant paid to all students regardless of parental income, an increase in the parental contribution and a tiny uprating which would leave student living standards open to erosion by inflation.

FCS believes after its discussion with ministers that the minimum grant is certain to be axed, but that other options including a reduction of the normal period of the grant from three years to two and a ban on people studying away from home are non-starters.

Students facing hardships, page 8

Scrutiny urged of race element in courses

by Patricia Santinelli

A call for an urgent review of the multicultural content of all first degree and postgraduate courses leading to teacher training came from Professor Maurice Craft of Nottingham University this week.

Professor Craft was speaking in London at a national conference organized by the Swann (formerly Rampton) Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups.

He said a review was necessary because a radical change in the balance of teacher education meant that more teachers were coming through the Postgraduate Certificate of Education route.

Evidence so far suggested that only a half of all initial teacher training institutions made some relevant provision to multi-cultural education, he said. Moreover, some of the work was optional and development within the PGCE was even more limited.

Professor Craft called on the Council for National Academic Awards to take greater responsibility for pushing through a programme which would enhance multicultural education in training institutions. It was up to the CNA now that validation by many universities had ended.

Representatives of the Universities and Polytechnic Councils for the Education of Teachers, the CNA and all university validating institutions and in service courses should be led together urgently to consider multicultural education of teachers.

The Department of Education and Science should take a strong lead in this and should expect an evaluation of progress in two years time. Mr Graham Watkins, deputy head of Birley High School, argued that validating bodies of teacher training institutions should re-examine the compulsory elements of their courses.

"If an O level in English and mathematics is a critical entry qualification and if child psychology is a mandatory part of every teacher's course, why isn't Education for a Multicultural Society?" he asked.

Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education and Science said that until organizations and other interested bodies and individuals had a chance to respond to the committee's interim report, decisions would be deferred.

"The matter is too serious, too near the bones, fears and concerns of very many individuals and organizations to be treated in any other way" Sir Keith said.

Social work council looks at success of training courses

by Charlotte Barry

Social work training will come under the microscope in a major review to be carried out by the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work, the validating body for courses in universities and colleges.

The exercise, which could lead to radical changes in the content of training, is being carried out by the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work, the validating body for courses in universities and colleges.

The review comes as a result of a survey among training council members about the imbalance of numbers on the two qualifying courses. While CQSW numbers are almost directly in line with levels of demand at 4,000 a year, numbers on CSW courses have not grown because of cuts in the number of secondments available from social services departments.

There is also concern about the relevance of social work courses to the role of practitioners, which has led to heated debate in the past between the two sides.

The exercise is also expected to overlap with the work of the Barclay committee at the National Institute of Social Work, whose report on the role and tasks of social workers, expected in February, will have widespread implications for education and training.

Interested parties. A number of university and polytechnic social work departments said this week that they had not yet received official notification.

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Pay dilemma for Natfhe members

by David Jobbins

Leaders of the college lecturers' union have put off the delicate decision of appearing to flout a conference decision to pursue a pay claim with a flat rate element to aid the lower paid.

The executive of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, which had been recommended to drop the conference decision and go for a 12 per cent claim in line with the public sector attack on the Government's cost limit policy, has effectively decided to leave the awkward question to the union membership.

The executive was split between those who felt the circumstances had changed dramatically since the May conference decision to seek a flat rate and percentage claim expressed in the May conference, has already said it will fight to maintain the formula laid down by conference.

But it was becoming clear that the joint review of the salaries structure, set up as part of the 1981 settlement, would be completed too late to form part of the 1982 claim, as originally hoped by union leaders and management officials.

Union leaders were quick to say that there was no suggestion that the management side was procrastinating.

It was pointed out that the conference resolution and general secretary Mr Peter Dawson's speech warned that circumstances were likely to change before the union became locked into the 1982 pay round.

But the executive's decision does not mean the pay claim will be delayed. The union's national council agreed that the final decision will be taken on December 5 with a view to lodging the claim, payable from April next year, by Christmas.

Maintenance of unity among other teaching and local government unions is regarded as doubly essential in the current climate, and union leaders are unwilling to lend their support to a salaries policy which could lead to some members receiving less than the cost of living claim.

But the extreme left, which vigorously pursued the flat rate claim at the May conference, has already said it will fight to maintain the formula laid down by conference.

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Science park setback

by Robin McKie

Science Correspondent
Plans to set up a science park at Warwick University, one of three with projects planned for West Midlands universities, received a setback last week when county councillors refused to sanction spending £98,000 on the scheme.

The economic development committee of West Midlands County Council decided to defer a decision on funding roads, landscaping and other services for the site, pending further studies. The issue will be discussed on December 15 and a university spokesman said they were hopeful the committee would then approve the expenditure. If it did not, the entire project would have to be completely re-examined.

The science park, on the campus would provide a base for companies to combine their industrial and technological expertise with the research facilities of universities. The concentration in the West Midlands was the one reason at the committee meeting for difficulties in providing the necessary cash for Warwick.

The county council recently approved an ambitious plan to set up a science park at Aston University. Initial spending on the park will reach £2.5m and at the launching of the scheme, Councillor Clive Wilkinson, leader of the council, said they would be prepared to spend as much on the park as it did on the city's national exhibition centre, which cost approximately £40m.

Aston's park will cover about three and a half acres of adjacent land, although it is intended that it will spread to a further ten acres nearby. The principal industries involved will cover high technology manufacture, such as biotechnology and microelectronics, and the first companies involved will move on to the site in April.

However, Birmingham University's plans remain at an early stage. Proposals to put their park on nearby land proved unsuccessful after negotiations to purchase the property fell through. A university spokesman said they were still hopeful about the project, although the make-up of the science park would have to be complementary, rather than comparable, to the Aston project.

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AUT members urged to turn left

A call for "militant professionalism" within the moderate Association of University Teachers has come from left wing academics.

Writing in a pamphlet published by the University Staff Left Group, London School of Economics lecturer Mr John Kelly admits that some AUT members would find industrial action against the cuts unprofessional, unethical, and damaging to lecturers and students.

"These charges cannot be denied but the more salient point is that the Government is wreaking far more damage to higher education through cuts in expenditure than any action by the AUT could ever do."

"In this context militant professionalism is required. We must not let clear that as academics we will not stand by and watch the deterioration of higher education without trying - by militant action if necessary - to reverse this process."

He argues that the crisis presents an "unprecedented opportunity" to argue for a sharper political profile for the AUT's work. "Bringing about a shift in the political composition of the union may prove, in the long run, to be the most important fruit of the present period."

The pamphlet, *University Staff Left Group Bulletin* No 6, price 35p to non-members.



All tied up - staff and students at a seminar in Thames Polytechnic's school of architecture and landscape's undergraduate studio. The school recently moved into newly-converted facilities on the Dartford campus.

The school was transferred from the polytechnic's overcrowded site in Woolwich to make better use of the Dartford outpost, which also houses teacher training. The decision was opposed by staff who were dismayed at having to transfer just three years after £500,000 was spent on moving them from Hammersmith.

Councillors want control of training

by Charlotte Barry

An attack on the role of the Manpower Services Commission in providing education and training for the 16-to-19s was launched at last week's meeting of metropolitan local education authorities in Oldham.

The assault was led by Councillor Paul Diamond, vice-chairman of Waltham Forest's committee for education and the arts, who introduced a motion calling for all 16-to-19 education and training to be put into the hands of the L.E.A.s.

He said: "The position of 16 to 19-year-olds is now so traumatic and provision of funding is such a mess and so haphazard that there has to be a policy to bring in rational agreements."

"I think that the money spent on 16-to-19s through the MSC is being used totally inefficiently and totally wastefully and would be much better spent by organizations that have experience and expertise through the education and training service - the L.E.A.s," he added.

The conference, organized by the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, unanimously passed a string of other motions emphasizing the education and training needs of unemployed school-leavers. Representatives agreed that local authority associations should reconsider their opposition to receiving specific grants from the Government.

They also called upon the Government to provide maintenance grants equivalent to the amount of supplementary benefit paid to unemployed school-leavers.

But Councillor Peter Horton, chairman of Sheffield's education committee, warned that education and training could not be provided by the L.E.A.s alone. "The fundamental keystone of 16-to-19 education in collaboration with other bodies like the MSC," he said.

The conference welcomed the Government's plans to replace the Youth Opportunities Programme with a new training scheme, and said

that all unemployed young people under 19 should be provided for. It called on the Government to publish its proposals and asked for urgent discussions at national and local level between education, the MSC, employers and trade unions.

Councillor Mike Bower, vice-chairman of Sheffield's education committee, said that YOP had outlived its usefulness. He criticized the scheme for forcing young people to compete for a limited number of jobs and said it was an underpaid charade that helped unscrupulous employers to get cheap labour.

Councillor Gordon Conquest, chairman of Manchester education committee, said that YOP was a whitewash by the Government to hide unemployment figures and made young people feel discriminated against. "I really don't think that the kind of monies that this really save the Exchequer can be really worth the bitterness that such penny-pinching engenders in them," he added.

Ulster leads microchip revolution

by Patricia Santinelli

A major microelectronics education centre, the first of 15 planned by the Government to spread awareness in this field, has been set up at the New University of Ulster.

The centre is part of the Government's Microelectronics in Education Programme launched at a cost of £10m over three years. It will run in tandem with the Department of Industry's Microcomputers in Schools scheme.

At the official opening of the centre which is to serve the whole province, Mr Nicholas Scott, under secretary of state for education (Northern Ireland) said: "If the revolution is to realize its full potential for the good of our people, it is of fundamental importance that our young people are prepared for a society where microelectronic devices are commonplace and are fully able to exploit the opportunities created by this new technology."

He added that MEP would complement the strong tradition of work in the computing field in Ulster. The main aim of the centre, which is headed by Mr Harry McMahon, is to support the immediate and future needs of teachers and students who are about to acquire microcomputers or already have had them installed in their schools for use in all curriculum areas.

This system covers everything from tracing and evaluating the impact of microelectronics on education and society, to acting as an information resource centre on microelectronics and control technology, computer-based learning, computer studies and the electronic office.

The centre has established both software and hardware libraries, it runs awareness conferences and seminars.

Candidates plan art course

Potential students are to be consulted about a part-time degree course now being developed at St Martin's School of Art in London.

The five-year CMAA courses in visual studies is believed to be the first of its kind in the country. The aim is to extend students' understanding of art and to improve their performance in areas such as painting, drawing, sculpture, printmaking and photography. It will start in 1983 and will probably involve one day and two evenings a week with one-week summer schools. There will be a mix of studio practice, lectures, seminars, reading and private study.

Students are expected to be mainly over 21 and to have had little or no further or higher education. "As the course is entirely new we cannot look over anyone else's shoulder to see how it should be done," said Mr Frank Hatt, vice-principal of St Martin's. "We need to know students' motives in doing the course and their capabilities so that we can plan the details."

"If, for example, the majority of people want to come on the course for personal enrichment then obviously our approach will be different than if the students are mainly art teachers who had their formal training a long time ago and feel they will be able to do their jobs better after this course."

The entry qualifications have not yet been decided but, although there will be some specific requirements these will probably be relaxed for those mature students whose ability to cope with the course is certain.

The intake will probably be around 25 a year.

Research needs lab support

by Robin McKie

Science Correspondent
Universities are to be forced to pledge that departments carrying out medical research can provide proper laboratory support before they are given grants by the Medical Research Council. The demand is being made to prevent grants being rendered useless because of insufficient support, caused by the recent spending cuts of the University Grants Committee.

The council has also warned that it believes that reduction in university support of departments will weaken their ability to win outside support in future.

However, the MRC has admitted that the present funding cuts could cause "some transitional difficulties" as universities make their first adjustments. "Accordingly, it will be prepared to consider short-term bridging to cover such temporary difficulties where it can be demonstrated that the research work would otherwise be severely impaired," says the council in a letter to vice chancellors.

And although it is to continue with

its equipment grants, the MRC is also to demand assurances that expensive hardware is to be shared "as much as possible".

In its letter, the MRC also says it is prepared to increase the vacancies provided under its senior fellowship scheme which provides research posts for promising young scientists for up to 10 years. The council says it will be "particularly influenced in cases where the university is able to offer hope of an appointment for the scientists concerned in the long term."

The letter warns that last year the MRC's funds were insufficient to support all good applications for project grants and this trend is likely to continue. "The council would therefore like scientists to remember that it is prepared to entertain applications from those who could manage without additional staff but who could continue or initiate research if the council provided funds for consumables, animals or equipment."

Researchers considering premature retirement are also to be offered small personal grants.

More home students try for university

Applications by home students for university entry next year are up by 7 per cent compared with the same time last year.

According to figures released by the Universities Central Council on Admissions, which has now received about one-third of all expected applications, 53,976 home students

have applied, compared with 50,221 this time last year.

Overseas applications have fallen by 17 per cent, from 3,340 last year to 2,784. UCCA predicts that final figures will show an increase in home applications and further decreases in overseas applications. The overseas student numbers include the EEC



Actor Sean Connery received an honorary D.Litt from Heriot-Watt University with all the panache of James Bond, despite oversteering, missing his flight, and being rushed to the graduation ceremony in a police car.

The former Edinburgh milk boy's degree was "in recognition of his contribution made to public enjoyment through his films and to young enterprise in Scotland through the Scottish International Education Trust."

When Connery learned of the trust which gives grants to young people of exceptional promise who are not otherwise eligible for grants, he broke his promise not to make another Bond film and donated his million dollar fee for *Diamonds Are Forever* to the trust, which has helped young Scots athletes, artists and craftspeople, and enterprises such as the National Youth Orchestra of Scotland.

Opposition pledges expansion

Labour leaders have promised to reverse the contraction of the universities and widen their scope beyond the traditional student age group.

In a statement issued to the Association of University Teachers as part of the campaign against the cuts, they say a discussion paper on post-18 education due next year will demonstrate their view that even before the cuts only a narrow range of popular needs was being met.

It is signed by shadow education secretary Mr Neil Kinnock, higher education spokesman Mr Phillip Whitehead, Mr Frank Field, Mr Martin O'Neill and Baroness David. "Other thinking for the universities will move ahead from Model B, not down from the dead-end of the Joshiite philosophy," it says.

"Our commitment is not simply to a restoration of everything as before, much less to everything as it will be after the universities have been encouraged by this Government to think of themselves only as shrunken centres of excellence."

The statement described as "particularly malignant" a policy which spends more on forcing people into

unproductive idleness while cutting the means of providing creative opportunities for study, research and employment.

The theme is to be taken up by tomorrow's first full-scale conference of the Campaign for Higher Education at Aston University. Among ideas to be raised for possible discussion include a one day strike in the universities and the public sector colleges next spring.

In similar statements to the AUT the other opposition parties also attack the cuts. The Liberals say: "One of the effects has been to show up weaknesses in the University Grants Committee, which is now carrying a burden for which it was not designed. Its composition must be reviewed if it is to continue to make vital decisions which jeopardize the existence of some universities."

And the Social Democratic Party says: "We condemn this irrational sacrifice of long term potential for the sake of very limited short term savings. We will be looking to develop higher education as a vital and closely integrated part of our industrial regeneration."

Parents lose appeal for tax-free grant

The value of scholarships awarded to thousands of students by their parents' employers are under threat as a result of a decision by the Court of Appeal last week.

The court found in favour of the Inland Revenue in a test case in which the parents of two students contested the tax commissioners' claim that the scholarships were taxable as fringe benefits.

The students are Miss Christine Johnson, a medical student at Newcastle University, who had received £460 from Imperial Chemical Industries' educational trust fund and Mr Martin Wicks, reading natural sciences at King's College Cambridge.

ICI puts around £1m a year into the fund which was set up to provide university scholarships for its children of senior employees. Around 2,500 students get between £200 and £600 from the fund.

The parents are the House of Lords. After the case a spokesman for ICI said the company was "very disappointed by the decision".

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North American news

Supreme Court decides freedom issue

from Peter David

WASHINGTON A tangled legal saga in which Princeton University and the American Civil Liberties Union are disputing the meaning of academic freedom and freedom of speech, reached the United States Supreme Court last week.

The court heard Princeton appeal against a decision by the New Jersey Supreme Court which, the university claims, would infringe its constitutional right under the first amendment to determine who should be allowed to speak on its campus.

The case began in 1978 when a municipal court convicted Mr Chris Schmid of trespass after he had twice visited the university, without permission or invitation, to distribute election literature on behalf of the right-wing American Labor Party.

Mr Schmid's conviction and fine of \$15 with \$10 costs were reaffirmed by the New Jersey superior court. But an appeal to the state's supreme court resulted in a reversal of the judgment.

In the view of the New Jersey Supreme Court, the state constitution required Princeton University to let outsiders use its facilities for the "reasonable" exercise of their constitutional freedoms of speech and assembly.

The New Jersey justices laid down

a threefold test of the "reasonableness" of any case where the courts were asked whether a private property owner would be required to allow access for speech and assembly by others.

The case, which Princeton has now taken to the United States Supreme Court, has attracted national attention as a test of the extent of the autonomy of private universities.

Mr Schmid's part has been taken by the American Civil Liberties Union, which sees the case as a major freedom of speech issue.

It believes that Princeton's private residential campus is similar to a company town which, the Supreme Court ruled in 1946, could not bar entry to political or religious activities.

The democratic process required access by outsiders to the registered voters who live on a university campus, the union argues.

"Not only do undergraduates live and do their work primarily on university grounds, they also worship, eat, play, mail letters, cash cheques, buy books, clothing and records, visit museums, attend films, plays and concerts, and receive counselling and medical care on campus," the ACLU told the lower court.

Princeton, however, complains in its appeal that the effect of the New Jersey ruling is to compel the uni-

versity to allow Mr Schmid to its campus to distribute literature.

Since the founding of the English speaking universities, Princeton's brief argues, the importance of university control over university grounds has been recognized.

"Princeton continues to regard its control over the university grounds as indispensable to the educational atmosphere which it seeks. Teaching and exchange of ideas occur not only in the classroom but on the walkways and grounds of the campus."

The case has divided the American higher education community. The American Council on Education, an umbrella organization for most university associations, has filed a friend-of-the-court brief supporting Princeton.

It calls on the judges to reaffirm a university's right to bar strangers from its campus as a logical extension of its first amendment right to determine who should enrol in the university and what should be taught there.

But the American Association of University Professors has supported Mr Schmid and the civil liberties union, arguing that Princeton has confused its freedom to make educational decisions with its desire to maintain "administrative control over the territory it occupies."

The AAUP also disagrees with

Princeton's claim that the threefold test of the "reasonableness" of outside access, laid down by the New Jersey court, would result in the courts supplanting the university as the arbiter of its educational philosophy.

Under the test, the courts would have to assess, in any particular case, the nature of the private property, the extent of the public's invitation to use the property and the purpose of the expressive activity undertaken on the property.

Princeton says the test is so vague that it leaves the courts almost unbounded discretion in deciding whether particular activities were incompatible with Princeton's educational goals.

In its friend-of-the-court brief the AAUP asks: "If it is unconstitutional simply to be called upon to explain how educational goals would be offended by more liberal rules governing speaker access to the campus's public areas, how much more unconstitutional is being called upon to explain the failure to reappoint a faculty member... or to explain the reasons for the dismissal of a faculty member challenged as a breach of the institution's contractual commitment to academic freedom and tenure?"

No date has been set for the Supreme Court's decision.

California reluctantly agrees to cuts



California's state universities have agreed to implement cuts of more than \$40m in this year's budgets although they are still determined to meet the state governor to complain that the cuts are disproportionate.

Mr William Fretter, acting president of the University of California, announced last week that there would have to be more than \$17m cut out of the direct budget for the university's campuses, a series of research programme cuts and a \$25 student fee surcharge to meet a \$22.3m reduction in the budget.

The California State University and Colleges is to levy a \$46 student surcharge and cut \$5m out of its academic programme to meet its share of the cut.

The crisis facing the universities is considered so serious that Mr David Saxton, president of the University of California, last week interrupted a sabbatical term at Merton College, Oxford, to fly home to assist his colleagues.

At a meeting with chancellors of the university's nine campuses the cuts he was deeply disturbed by the said he applied to the university as a result of the emergency budget introduced by governor Jerry Brown.

"I do recognize the difficult circumstances of the state of California but the university's share of the problem seems arbitrarily disproportionate," he said.

In a letter to the chancellors, Mr Fretter said it was still "uncertain" whether the university would have a chance to meet the governor. He added: "If we do, and if we are successful in persuading the governor to lessen the university's share of the state's necessary reductions, we may be able to provide some relief."

Private black colleges pepped up

PepsiCo, the soft drinks company, is to pour \$1m into America's private black colleges over the next decade. A first instalment of \$100,000 was handed to the United Negro College fund at a ceremony in Washington last week.

Mr Donald Kendall, the company's chief executive officer, said at the ceremony that he was a strong supporter of President Reagan's economic policy but recognized that private corporations would have to fill the gaps left by the federal government's programme of spending cuts.

"It is particularly important today for all businesses, large and small to increase their support of worthwhile community and educational programmes. President Reagan has challenged private enterprise to help offset reductions in financial aid that were necessary at the federal level," he said.

The 41 private black colleges supported by the fund enrol some 50,000 students. More than half come from families earning less than \$12,000 and more than 90 per cent need financial help to study.

"UNCF institutions play a major role in educating the nation's most financially disadvantaged young people. So any reduction in student aid, such as the recent federal cutbacks, hit these colleges very hard," said Mr Christopher Kaley, the fund's director.

The 37-year-old fund plans to raise \$21m in 1981, some 40 per cent of which would be in contributions from business and industry. Pepsi has helped the fund sporadically since 1954 as well as financing fellowships for black students at leading business schools.

Black universities will also benefit from an Exxon Foundation grant designed to boost America's declining engineering schools. As part of a \$15m programme the foundation has earmarked \$1.8m for engineering schools at six traditionally black colleges.

The grants, which are to be used to strengthen engineering staffs, will amount to \$100,000 a year for three years.

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Start of decline for science and engineering degrees

The number of science and engineering degrees awarded annually in the United States has declined below the levels reached in the early to mid-1970s, says a report from the National Science Foundation.

Science and engineering, which accounted for about 60 per cent of all doctorates until 1969, now account for only 50 per cent. During the same period, science and engineering's share of masters degrees fell from 25 per cent to 18 per cent, and first degrees from 32 to 29 per cent.

The report says the decline follows a long uptrend that began in the mid-1950s. Bachelors and first professional degrees peaked in 1974 at 305,000 and have steadied at 290,000 in the past five years.

Masters degrees, which reached their high point of 56,700 in 1977, declined to 54,500 by 1980. Doctorates peaked at 18,600 in 1973 but have been below 17,000 in the last four years.

Within the trend of decline there has, however, been an upsurge in the proportion of women. In 1980 they earned 36 per cent of first degrees, 27 per cent of masters and 21 per cent of doctorates. In 1970 their shares were 26, 17 and 9 per cent respectively.

Analysing the figures, the National Science Foundation argues that the demographic increase of 22-year-olds in the early 1960s was an important factor in the growth of degrees

awarded. But it warns against assuming that the decline in their numbers in the 1980s will lead to a corresponding fall in the number of students taking science and engineering.

Many non-demographic factors contributed to the remarkable interest in science and engineering courses in the late 1950s and 1960s, the report points out.

"Sputnik, launched in October 1957, influenced the passage of the National Education Defence Act of 1958 which authorized direct, low interest rate student loans, graduate fellowships, and several forms of assistance to institutions.

"Emphasis on the space effort attracted many young people to the physical sciences and engineering. At about the same time, student participation in the biological and social sciences increased.

"The Higher Education Act of 1965 initiated major student assistance programmes including work-study and, effective in fiscal year 1967, educational opportunity grants and insured loans."

Only 40 per cent of the increase in science and engineering from 1955 to 1980 could be ascribed to demographic factors, the report maintains.

The other 60 per cent could be ascribed to the changing perceptions of young people and their parents; the availability of educational opportunity and the extent of financial support.

Luck of the draw in research awards

The fate of scientific research proposals submitted to the National Science Foundation - America's main research funding body - depends to a very significant degree on luck, according to the results of a five year study published last week.

The study, which claims to be the most thorough analysis of peer review ever undertaken, was conducted by two professors of sociology and one professor of applied mathematics at the request of the National Academy of Sciences and with the cooperation of the NSF.

In the first phase of their study, reported in 1978, the researchers were encouraged to find that the NSF was essentially free of bias and did not systematically favour the more eminent scientists at the expense of the young and less well-known.

The study concluded that peer review was not dominated by an "old boys' club", did not favour older investigators, or those who already

received NSF funds and did not favour people at better known universities.

In the second phase of the research, however, the investigators tried to discover whether the apparent absence of bias was in fact a result of NSF manipulation of the results through the selection of reviewers.

The investigators asked independent selected sets of reviewers to judge 150 research proposals that had been submitted to the NSF, half of which had received funding and half of which had been rejected.

The study found that a quarter of the NSF's funding decisions would have been reversed by the independent panelists.

The three professors, from the University of Columbia and the State University of New York concluded: "The fate of a particular grant application is roughly half determined by the characteristics of the proposal and the principal investigator, and about half by apparently random ele-

'Voodoo economics' criticized

The annual conference of one of America's biggest and oldest higher education associations ended in Washington last week with a series of blunt criticisms of President Reagan's policy on university spending.

In a unanimous resolution, the presidents of the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges warned the Reagan administration that the cuts in higher education were leading to "a national disaster even more damaging than our unpreparedness in science, technology and education generally at the time the Soviet Union launched the Sputnik satellite in 1957."

The resolution called on the President to reaffirm higher education as a top national priority because of its importance to the nation's defense and economy. It said that the ability of many state universities to contribute to national security and welfare was being impaired by "dramatic and unplanned" spending cuts.

With more than 140 member institutions, including the major state universities, the association is one of the most influential higher education interest groups to produce sharp criticisms of the Reagan administration.

An address by the retiring chairman, Dr Harold Enarson, President emeritus of the Ohio State University, described the government's spending cuts as "savage."

He continued: "The Reagan administration is well along the road to its avowed goals, massive curtailment of much of the social and educational programmes now deeply built into the fabric of our beliefs and our budgets."

"We are, I fear, numb in the face of actions that only a short time ago would have been regarded by conservatives and liberals alike as unthinkable."

With the federal government withdrawing much of its support for science, the arts and humanities, the universities were being told to turn to the individual states for sustenance, Dr Enarson said.

"But in many states the troubles of our universities are compounded by the financial crunch in state revenues because of the depressed economy."

Warning against illusions that private benefactions or closer ties between industry and the universities could rescue higher education from decline, Dr Enarson said it was "voodoo economics" to argue that the quality of education would not decline with repeated spending cuts.

He concluded: "The scientists and engineers and experts of all kinds do not emerge by some sort of spontaneous process. They are educated in our universities and if they are not of sufficient numbers and of sufficient quality, the nation's hope for reindustrialization, for competitiveness on the world stage goes down the drain."

The wide-ranging NZS invitation list seems to be an attempt to present an impartial front - and to offset the "anti-socialist" impression given by the participation of two NZS delegates in the UNEF meeting in Paris last May, where a fringe movement established a new international students' organization, as an "alternative" to the Prague-based IUS, and proposed Warsaw as the venue for its first world conference this November - a choice which the Polish authorities inevitably saw as provocative.

On the home-front, the NZS clearly intends to make no concessions on academic autonomy. Unrest has been disturbing for several weeks over irregularities in the election of the Rector of Radom Technical University, which, says the NZS, did not comply with the new democratic norms.

After several weeks of token "academic strikes" the national coordinating committee decided to try a nationwide four-hour "warning strike" on November 12.

University closed as West Bank protesters rampage

from Benny Morris

Jerusalem The Israeli military authorities last week closed Bir Zeit University, the Occupied West Bank's senior institution of higher education, following three days of demonstrations, rock-throwing and rioting by the students and townspeople.

The government has informed Dr Gabi Baranki, acting president of the university, that it will remain shut until January 4, 1982. This is in apparent deference to the High Court of Justice Order, issued earlier, instructing the government to explain why the original closure order was for an indefinite period.

The demonstrations at Bir Zeit, a campus town seven kilometres north west of Ramallah, were part of the general wave of protest which swept the territory to mark the 64th anniversary of the Balfour declaration of November, 1917, in which Britain promised the Jewish people a "national home" in Palestine.

The university was ordered closed by Major-General Danny Matt, Israel Defence Forces coordinator for activities in the administered territories. The closure itself sparked further rioting in many West Bank towns and schools, and resulted in partial strikes throughout the territory. Dozens of local youths have been detained. In the most serious incident, security forces entered a school in Jenin and shot in the leg a 15-year-old youth who had allegedly

brandished a knife.

Observers noted that the military has maintained a low profile in the territory since the announcement two months ago by the new defence minister, Ariel Sharon, of a more "liberal" policy in the occupied areas. A fortnight ago, the military refrained from interfering in a pro-PLO demonstration marking the murder of one of PLO chairman Yasser Arafat's aides in a Rome hotel room.

West Bankers have remarked that the closure of the university - the fourth by the military in the institution's history - marks an "insidious beginning to the new, de facto liberal policy," which is to be managed and implemented by a civilian administration headed by Hebrew University professor Menachem Milson. Until now, the administration of all aspects of West Bank life has been in Israeli military hands or supervised by the military.

The military also briefly detained for questioning Dr Gabi Baranki, a number of senior faculty members and members of the university's students committee.

The authorities also closed down for one week the East Jerusalem daily newspaper "Al-Pajjar" under emergency regulations. The clamp-down against Bir Zeit and other centres of opposition to the occupation, however, has led to a partial general strike throughout the West Bank and

East Jerusalem.

Observers explain the recent rioting in two ways: as an effort by the locals to test the mettle of the civil administration instituted in the territory on November 1, or as a means of protesting against that administration, which PLO supporters regard as an Israeli subterfuge by which "autonomy" is to be gradually introduced. The Arab radicals oppose the autonomy scheme. They see it as an Israeli plan to frustrate their desire for full statehood.

Meanwhile the Egyptian authorities have eased restrictions on Gaza Strip high school graduates and have announced that this year they will allow 200 of them to enrol at Egyptian universities. Two years ago the Egyptians virtually sealed off Egypt to the Gazans, conditioning their readmission to the Nile-side universities on a declaration of support by Gaza leaders for the late President Sadat's peace policy and the Camp David agreements.

No such declaration has been forthcoming, and Gaza school graduates have for the past few years gone to European or Jordanian universities, or have abandoned their studies and found menial jobs.

Observers believe that the readmission of Gazans to Egyptian universities is part of the new "conciliation" policy of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak toward his opponents in the Arab world.

Poles invite 'everyone but Antarctica'

Poland's new Independent Students' Association (NZS) will be inviting delegates from the Soviet Union to attend its National Congress in December.

At a meeting of the national coordinating commission in Wrocław earlier this month it was decided to invite youth and student organizations from all European Socialist countries and Cuba.

The invitation list will also include representatives of the "old" parallel organization, the Union of Socialist Polish Students, and other Party-backed youth organizations, as well as the new Federation of School Youth, the independent (and still unofficial) body representing Poland's senior school pupils.

Student organizations in Western Europe, North and South America, and the Third World will also be invited. "We're inviting all the continents - except Antarctica", one NZS activist joked.

How many will be allowed to attend is uncertain. It is unlikely, for example, that the Soviet Komsozols, or their parallel organizations in Czechoslovakia or East Germany will be permitted to go by their governments. Likewise, if the Solidarity Congress last September is a precedent, the Polish authorities may fail to give visas to a number of the Western guests.

The wide-ranging NZS invitation list seems to be an attempt to present an impartial front - and to offset the "anti-socialist" impression given by the participation of two NZS delegates in the UNEF meeting in Paris last May, where a fringe movement established a new international students' organization, as an "alternative" to the Prague-based IUS, and proposed Warsaw as the venue for its first world conference this November - a choice which the Polish authorities inevitably saw as provocative.

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Too many engineers, too little engineering

from Michael Binyon

MOSCOW The Soviet Union produces the largest number of engineers in the world - so many that nowadays many can find jobs only as janitors and part-time street-sweepers.

Soviet planners and education officials are seriously considering ways to stem the output of unemployed engineering graduates while training more specialists for fields in short supply.

The Russians are proud of the progress they have made in raising the educational level of the Soviet population, and boast that the proportion of school leavers going on to institutes and universities is one of the highest in the world. In 1974-75, for example, 304,000 engineers graduated compared with only 55,000 - less than a fifth - in the United States.

"The profundity and richness of our programme of instruction, the scope of the knowledge that is being acquired, and the periods of training are immeasurably greater than in the years of most American colleges", Mr G. Kulagin, a research associate from a Leningrad institute, wrote in one paper.

But he added that the productivity of Soviet engineers was far lower than in America. Their quality was as good. But their training was not being used. Another paper pointed out that more than half their time was taken up with non-professional duties: delivering goods, arguing with leaders of work brigades, running errands to branch enterprises. Such jobs, the paper said, should be assigned instead to those without engineering degrees.

A worse consequence of the over-production of graduates and engineering technicians is that these people are employed in factories simply as labour reserves for those occasions when the factory has to provide extra personnel to help with the harvest, or has fallen behind in the fulfilment of its plan. Most of the time these under-employed engineers are sent to help out where the plant is short-staffed - as cleaners and janitors.

In some places factories, at the request of local councils, arm the engineers with brooms and shovels and send them out to sweep the streets every Friday.

With so many engineers available, wages have remained low, and many disillusioned graduates, having completed their obligatory two years in the factory to which they are assigned on graduation, change jobs altogether. Some take more profitable jobs as lathe operators or semi-skilled workers in industry, where wages have risen swiftly in recent years. Others find work in roving construction brigades or do odd jobs moonlighting, especially as part-time car mechanics making valuable spare parts that are virtually impossible to obtain on the open market.

So far there have been no real measures to curb engineering courses. One difficulty is that factory managers deliberately overstate their estimated future need for engineers as an insurance policy.

However, officials have recognized the need for diversification, and the starting up of courses in newer fields such as cybernetics and new alloys.

Intake to fall by half

from Lindsay Wright

Wellington New Zealand's teacher colleges are reeling from a government decision to cut the national intake of trainees from 3,300 to 1,662 next year.

Falling school rolls and a reduced rate of resignations from teaching have prompted the Department of Education to revise its estimates of the numbers of teachers needed, but teacher organizations have responded critically.

For both primary and secondary teacher colleges the reduced staffing levels which will follow the decision pose grave problems as they lose the range of skills represented by the

larger numbers of lecturers recruited during peak years.

It is election time in New Zealand, however, and the Labour Party's education spokesman, Mr Russell Marshall, has advised prospective trainees to hold on to their application forms with the promise of revised quotas if Labour is elected.

The decision to cut teachers' college enrolments could well have some effect on university enrolments which are 1,000 higher than was predicted only two years ago.

Several colleges have joint programmes with adjacent universities and offer BEd programmes.

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TAI

David Jobbins talks to university lecturers' leader John Reilly on his hopes for the future

The AUT gets a new public face

Incoming presidents of the Association of University Teachers are frequently inclined to cast a jaundiced eye over the difficulties their year of office will present.

Few in the union's history could have more justification for their apprehension about what the future holds than this year's president, Mr John Reilly.

This week he was leading the union on what is undoubtedly its biggest ever collective action - a mass lobby of Parliament with up to 12,000 academics voicing their anger and dismay at the size and speed of the cuts which the universities are being forced to make.

Mr Reilly, senior assistant registrar at Kent University, believes he is the first administrator to be elected president of the AUT. He joined Kent as an administrator in 1966, the year after the university's first student intake, and revelled in the task of helping to build internal structures free from the traditions he would have expected to meet if he had worked on an older-established university.

His criticism of the university cuts is uncompromising, with his surprise at the way the University Grants Committee proved so compliant with Government demands for cuts tinged more than a little contempt.

"Even if the selectivity argument is

accepted, the UGC would have needed a much larger staff and more sophisticated mechanisms for analysing the data; and more up-to-date data: they had none of this available.

"If the system had more time it could adjust to a new level of funding without the distress and upheaval redundancies will cause. It is illogical the vice chancellors and the UGC could be considering a redundancy compensation scheme, which could cost £250m, when very much less would keep the system going and enable it to adjust."

As for the way the cuts have fallen, he says: "How absolutely crazy to be cutting universities at all when the age group is actually increasing quite dramatically. Rhodes Boyson's demographic argument just does not hold water - the age group does not decline between 1979 levels until the end of the 1980s.

"When the country in terms of the Government's own philosophy should be rebuilding the base for industrial and economic recovery it is absolute folly in every sense to reduce opportunities for 18 year olds."

At the root of his resentment is the feeling that enforced stringency from the centre has come on top of local belt tightening, with individual universities already taking the measures which might minimize the pain.



Mr John Reilly: administrator.

"I do not accept the case for the cuts. At more or less 7 per cent the proportion of the age group in the universities is very low for any developed country. It is an area where we cannot afford to neglect investment and in terms of the Government's own position it is crazy to cut back on the technological universities."

But I would be worried by the line that they should have been protected and the arts cut. One of the difficult tasks he acknowledges for the year ahead is to put this view over to the general public. While the case for public investment in scientific and technol-

gical education is easily made, scepticism about the value of arts and social science courses, and often sheer hostility to their public funding are far harder beliefs to crack.

"I think these areas are very important particularly at a time of rapid technological change in every sphere of life. You are producing people able to cope with change and to respond critically and creatively to it, either commercially or philosophically."

Although public and politicians have inbuilt resistance to the notion of non-vocationally orientated education, he sees glimmers of hope within the trade union movement.

He was especially heartened by the speech made at the TUC Welsh miners' leader Mr Emlyn Williams, who eloquently recalled the miners' long struggle for education in its broadest possible sense with the aim of enriching the lives of individuals and the community.

He is irritated by recent suggestions that the AUT seemed to be putting all its eggs in the tenure basket. To the exclusion of wider questions and thereby endangering cross-campus unity. "There will be tensions in any alliance, but all the unions with whom we are involved both nationally, at campus level, and through the TUC's Education Alliance, appreciate we have to put up the strongest case for our members. In doing so we are going to use every method available to us, and we would be open to criticism from our members, and I suspect from *The Times*, if we did not."

But he reacted with unconcealed anger to suggestions from Labour politicians that if the universities

want help in the cuts battle they drop their resistance to open door approaches to education.

"They do the universities no service in saying we are closed institutions. It is not true and has the added danger that it will become self-fulfilling because people are frightened off."

"Many institutions over the past five to six years have been doing a great deal of work in the world of continuing education. For far longer than that many have been working with the trade unions and the Workers' Education Association."

"At Kent we have opened a whole range of degrees to part-time students specifically to cater for people who for one reason or another have not had the opportunity for full-time higher education."

The effect of current policies is only too likely to make such innovations even more difficult but he rounds on the accusers with the counter-charge of ignorance. "It is unfair to blame the universities for the apparent lack of openness."

His own union's record is good, he says. "We have been urging for years that it should be possible for the widest possible section of the community to be able to take up university places."

The main aim of his year in office is to convince the British public that far more is at stake than the jobs of some of the AUT's members or sections of an elitist system of education.

"In totalitarian countries the institutions 'They' tend to go for and control the universities, and they are particularly keen to control the humanities and social sciences."

Students face grants shake-up

Britain's million students began their annual grants campaign this week with an exploratory meeting between their leaders and the under secretary for higher education, Mr William Waldegrave.

The run-up to the discussions had marked out these negotiations as being quite different from recent years. For the first time, leaders of the National Union of Students will have to combine the argument for a grants increase which comes near to matching inflationary erosion with a defence of the system against Ministers determined to cut public spending and drawn to a false conclusion of higher education.

Persistent newspaper stories have identified student awards as an area destined for the axe and indicated the breath-taking breadth of thinking now in train between Ministers and Department of Education and Treasury officials. Options have included a drastic increase in the parental contribution, abolition of the £410 minimum grant paid to all students regardless of parental income, even a reduction of the normal duration of the award from three years to two.

Application of the 4 per cent cash limit the Government is attempting to impose on pay settlements in many sectors of the public sector is also in mind.

Few students can have been expecting a generous response to their claim that they need a 17.4 per cent increase in grants just to restore the purchasing power of 1978-9 when the Conservative Government came to power.

But the increasing suspicion, shared also by university vice-chancellors, that the awards system will feel the keen edge of the Government's spending axe in the Spring, has catapulted the issue to the head of their concerns.

NUS president Mr David Aaronovitch, who has just returned from a round of meetings at universities and colleges as part of the NUS week of action against the higher education cuts, believes that the Government has underestimated the outburst of anger at serious attempts to cut back the level of awards or dismember the system.

Sir Keith Joseph, the education secretary, told the Commons Select Committee last week of his feeling that too many students were actually in higher education.

What better way it is being suggested, to reduce quickly student

numbers which cannot be controlled by quotas and ceiling than through the market place. But as *The Sunday Times* pointed out this week, the effect of reducing the level of student support would merely result in the wealthy displacing the gifted and deserving.

"We are incredibly worried about the recent press reports which tell of abolishing the minimum award, drastically increasing parental contributions, and limiting the student grant to 4 per cent or less," Mr Aaronovitch said.

NUS calculates that inflation has outstripped the student grant by 20 per cent since the Government came to office. The retail price index stood at 200.2 in 1978-79, when the grant was £1,100. But while over three years the grant rose to £1,535, an increase of 39.5 per cent, the RPI rocketed to 301.2 per cent, a climb of more than half as much again.

The relevance of the RPI too comes in for some questioning by the union. Certain key items which loom large in student budgets have risen by far more - housing by 82 per cent, fuel by 70 per cent, transport by 60 per cent, and tobacco by 67 per cent, according to NUS.

"Students are getting far less to begin with than they were in 1978 and are having to pay more for essentials," says NUS vice president welfare, Ms Hank Hastings.

"For the kind of money they are actually paying, the value they are getting back is also decreasing." Increased parental contributions would avoid a number of the pitfalls inherent in other recently floated options, but NUS is continuing to argue for its complete abolition.

The latest figures suggest that two-thirds of students have to approach their parents to make up their grant and two-thirds of them do not do so fully, so that 45 per cent of students do not get the full grant of £1,535 in London and £1,535 elsewhere.

NUS also wants the age at which students are independently assessed to 23, the period of self-support reduced from three years to two with the inclusion of periods of unemployment to be regarded as self-support.

"The overdraft is now a normal part of the student grant," Mr Aaronovitch said this week.

Tracey Logan, a 23-year-old history student at Sussex University, is paying the commercial rate on a £500 overdraft built up over last year.

"When I came to university I got an overdraft. Every holiday I used to work as a hospital porter, but it is getting progressively more difficult because there are just not the jobs any more. At the end of last year when I wanted a job, I could not find one. Now I am working part-time in a delicatessen on Saturdays and half days Thursdays, but also when they want me. This week for example, I shall be working, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday."

Tracey is on a minimum grant. Her parents, who live in a Camden council flat, elected to spend their incomes on sending her brother to public school. Although their high tied only to the minimum grant, they had none to spare to help her out.

"See your parents," was the advice from her local education authority when she went to them for help.

Frank Howard, a 22-year-old politics and history student at Manchester University, has decided against part-time and vacation jobs so that he can concentrate on his final year work.

"My £200 overdraft is getting larger all the time. I could never afford campus accommodation so I have been forced to live in council flat."

He too feels his parents should not be expected to contribute towards his support at university. They match the £500 a year he receives from his education authority, still leaving him £535 short.

"People like my parents are just as much victims of the recession as anyone else," he says.

Earlier this year the Commons Public Accounts Committee called for a review of the open-ended commitment to underwrite the cost of mandatory awards, and this has taken on new significance in the wake of the failure to control effectively the numbers of students entering higher education.

Securing central control of the awards system will be regarded by local authorities as yet more evidence of the Government's tendency to trample on local democracy. Even the Rayner report, earlier this year, related the "superficial attractions" of central control and lent towards regional consortia of authorities pooling their resources.

David Jobbins



Sussex student Tracey Logan works at a Brighton food store.

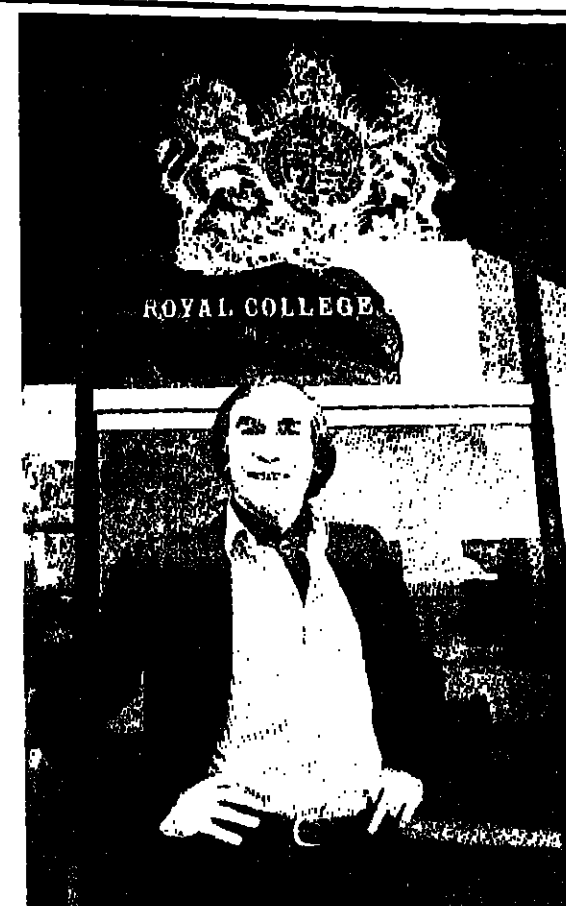
TABLE

	Now	with 4 per cent	1981-82 data
Out of London	per year	per year	per year
London	£1,535	£1,600	£1,535
Home-based	£1,100	£1,156	£1,100
Based on a 30-week year			

One option open to Ministers is to hold back the grants increase in line with the 4 per cent cash limit for pay increases in the public sector. This would mean the effect of the £500,000 mandatory awards made in England and Wales each year account for £500m of the education budget. About 80,000 students receive the higher London award.

The cubist approach to knocking art into shape

Lionel March has taken over as rector at a difficult time in the history of the Royal College of Art. Paul Flather explains the controversies over management and policy that confront him



Professor March - favours open debate and consultation with each group playing its part

On the window sill of Professor Lionel March's study stands an intricate configuration model made out of shiny aluminium. It breaks into separate blocks and shapes for reassembly into a new model, a sort of intellectual Lego set, irresistible for architects trying to stack functional units to build, say, a hospital. The models are of course no more than toys in the world of configuration studies which have made great advances in the past 10 years. But reassembling existing units to make a new shape is very much the kind of science Professor March is attempting at the Royal College of Art where he has just become the rector.

Professor March arrived at a critical moment in the college's 144-year history. It was wracked by dissension and there were deep divisions about how it should develop. The drama started with a highly critical report last year from a Department of Education and Science visiting committee. It was alarmed to find criticisms made in 1978 were apparently not being followed up, and called for greater control over spending, a stronger academic policy unit, and a greater emphasis on links with industry.

All this appeared to threaten the assumed "fine art" traditions of the college, which occupies a number of sites near the Albert Hall in Kensington. In fact the RCA began life as a school of Design after a report in 1836 called for a centre to supervise the direct application of arts to manufacturing.

This proved impossible without imparting some knowledge of fine art. With the best students being sent to the college, a strong tradition of training teachers in fine art developed, under distinguished artists such as Jules Dalou, Alphonse Legros, and Sir Edward Poynter principal in 1857. Now there are about 40 graduate students, in a mixture of spacious design studios and cramped units for painting and sculpture.

Dr Rhodes Boyson, then Under Secretary for Higher Education, started to apply pressure in his role of paymaster, pointing out that the college appeared to be facing in its Charter obligations to aid British industry. He coupled this with a threat that the budget might be cut if there were no changes. The country needed "good designers," he said, and called for greater emphasis on design management. Many staff and students were outraged, seeing it more as blackmail than constructive criticism.

All this blew up as the college was selecting a new rector to succeed Professor Richard Guyatt, appointed in a plug-gap in 1978, but who resigned last year. Professor March was being rung up "out of the blue" by the shortlisting committee at the Open University, where he was appointed six members of the governing council resigned, apparently over policy disagree-

ments. As the RCA committees ground away preparing a reply to Dr Boyson and the DES, he had to sit on his hands.

Professor March himself is a friendly man, polished and determined, keenly aware of the task in front of him. Almost all his life has been spent in various academic settings. At Cambridge he studied mathematics, and then architecture under Sir Leslie Martin, with whom he later worked, and was also a much sought after set designer. He worked in Cambridge in various capacities before becoming a professor in Ontario in 1974 and joining the OU in 1976. It was here he pioneered a new centre for configurational studies.

He comes with a good track record in attracting external finance, about £500,000 over five years, and he wants the college to have a major impact on design practice and theory, producing designers with a full understanding of the market place, distribution, and new technologies.

In fact, Professor March spent little time on the sidelines, but ex-

The RCA's image was 'capricious, unpredictable and lacking integrity'

pounded his philosophy in two articles published in the summer before he formally took over in September. In *The Aesthetic State*, he promoted Schiller's idea of aesthetic education and the whole man. In the second, he declared his aim to promote the new technologies of computer-aided design, and commenting on the impending changes, wrote: "I suspect there may be several crises in the college's life in the future."

Then last month he made a long policy statement to an open meeting of the senate, making plain his intention to break with the kind of autocratic leadership associated with the illustrious Sir Robin Darwin, who regenerated the college into one of Europe's premier institutions while he was principal from 1948 to 1971. He is remembered as a visionary tyrant who bestrode the college with Churchillian authority. Darwin's finest hour came in 1967 when the RCA won its own Royal Charter to "advance learning, knowledge, and professional competence" in relation to the fine arts, and the industrial and commercial processes.

Professor March said this old style government was no longer appropriate, and indeed he found it offensive. He favoured open debate and consultation with each group playing its part. He then sketched out a series of major planned reforms in structure and faculties would be strengthened, perhaps reduced to three: arts - encompassing painting, sculpture, film, video, television and so

on; commerce and fashion - including crafts such as jewellery-making and graphics; and industry and environment - including longer term design work. Arching over this would be a new institute for advanced studies, the theoretical heart of the college.

A new academic board would guide policy, the rector's office would be expanded, with the rector himself in a walkabout role guiding the overall course of the college. These are significant reforms, and although it is clearly very early days, they appear to have been generally well received. There is still much negotiation ahead.

What lies ahead for Professor March? His two immediate tasks appear to be to satisfy the DES and to sort out the college's financial difficulties. With hindsight there is no doubt the DES was somewhat confused in its criticisms. It accused the RCA of ignoring its charter. The college's official reply accused the DES of being vague, of having ignored a record of good work, of poor analysis, and of confusing the wording of the charter.

But what the DES correctly identified was a malaise, given its most graphic expression in a report from a committee headed by Professor Bruce Archer, head of design research, which talked of the RCA run by private negotiation between three cabals and an image that was "capricious, unpredictable, and lacking in integrity." That may be extreme, but Professor March's task is to restore confidence.

He is looking to the highly successful American graduate schools for inspiration, drawing on his four years in America as prestige academic centres responding to market pressures. He wants to move further towards the university sector, but not to join the University Grants Committee. Indeed one problem, not self-inflicted is design education itself which for so long has been regarded as something apart in England, as "technical" rather than "academic".

A number of financial strategies are being canvassed to ease the college through a 10 per cent cut this year. But its student bursaries are also down by 27 (14 per cent), over-seas students have not filled the gap, more cuts appear inevitable, and there is an unforeseen hefty rates bill to pay.

Professor March says it could well be looking for £4-£5 of its own to match each £1 from the DES. It could tap its famous alumni, who include David Hockney and Peter Blake; it could set up a string of companies to market its products and services, for example making video films, or advising on design education; finally, it could cut costs. Each staff member costs £40,000 and each student £7,000.

All this will need firm diplomacy - there are still many at the college who are easily offended.

Patricia Santinelli reports on the challenge facing Geoffrey Holland, the new head of the Manpower Services Commission



Going to the country on unemployment

Geoffrey Holland, the successful builder of the Youth Opportunities Programme has come to the helm of the Manpower Services Commission at a key period. It coincides with government plans to introduce new major training programmes by the end of the year, under the MSC's aegis, to deal with mounting unemployment.

As the commission's new director, Geoffrey Holland faces a formidable challenge: one, it is rumoured, he was not expecting to meet for some time. It was thought that his predecessor, Mr John Cassels, who has left for Sir Derek Rayner's unit, would remain at the MSC for at least another three years.

His appointment has already aroused some animosity among a coterie of civil servants who resent his meteoric rise from special programmes to the directorship and the level of deputy secretary at his relatively young age of 43.

But within the MSC, and in the further education, voluntary and youth services, his promotion is widely welcomed, for he is highly respected for his achievements with YOP, although he attracted some personal criticism in the early stages. He is generally regarded as a highly intelligent, dynamic man, with an unconventional, unbureaucratic and sensitive approach to unemployment problems, for which he is genuinely concerned to find effective solutions.

Others argue that these very qualities might lead Geoffrey Holland to adopt the same open-ended approach to the next stage of YOP's development, which, they fear, might not lead to its radical re-vamping.

Nevertheless he is in dire need of these qualities if he is to steer the commission, often harshly criticized for its expansionist policies and enervated by its substantial budget (estimated at £950m), to meet not only the requirements of the Government but of the country.

Mr Holland is well aware of this. He says the MSC has to be responsible to the country, and that it would be dangerous if it should have a negative image as a bureaucratic organization which does not change with new situations. "It would be quite easy for us to slide into being experts in areas of diminishing importance. But we must not deal with yesterday's skills, we are up against the effect of modern technology on people, jobs and firms," he said.

Essentially too, he recognizes that when the commission was created, employment was not such a rare commodity. Now he believes that high unemployment is here for the foreseeable future and he points out this has not been given sufficient thought by the Government or the country.

If the Government announces in a few weeks, as promised, a major expansion and development of all programmes - and Mr Holland appears convinced that it will - especially a Mark 2, high quality, one year YOP, then he will be one step nearer realizing one of his key objectives as director, the implementation of the New Training Initiative.

This has three main strands designed to form a major education and training programme including apprenticeships and covering adults as well. One is a one-to-two-year programme of education, training and work experience for all 16-17 year olds not in full-time education. Ironically, if implemented, it will be mainly because the nemesis of unemployment and its social effects have given new value to a major programme of education and training. Many previous proposals bit the dust or were shelved.

Mr Holland, however, refuses to be cynical. He accepts that the decision might be seen as purely political expedient but argues that many members of the Cabinet are deeply concerned and committed to act on unemployment and training, and not just with a view to the next general election.

He is adamant that success will depend a great deal on the further education service's support. He admits that he has not changed his views on the FE service's response to YOP, which he described earlier this year as patchy and sometimes hostile. But he points out that can be said of employers' response too.

He is firmly convinced that both YOP Mark 2 and the NTI offer a major challenge and opportunity for further education which he hopes it will grasp. He stresses that without the FE service whatever opportunities are offered will undoubtedly be much poorer.

The traditional craft jobs in engineering and construction, to which much of the FE service education and training input has been directed, is in cyclical and structural decline, he says. "I believe the FE service has a major opportunity to meet the needs of a very different client group, one which does not fit easily into traditional academic terms. Therefore it is a question of fitting the mould to the people and not the other way round." The rewards could be considerable, he believes.

Geoffrey Holland is quite open about YOP. Three years ago, he believed it was an experimental stage, and apparently he has not changed his mind for he says it is no longer suitable for current needs.

But he stresses that it has introduced education and training for young people who never received it before. Moreover new valuable curriculum approaches and modes of delivery have been devised as a result of YOP.

The bigger question is, how much in the way of resources and how quickly? He stresses that the CBI has been arguing for NTI as an investment for the country and that the state must contribute to the costs. It wants to discuss allocations between the state and employers.

"I believe we cannot move without state support and I don't think this is too far from the position of some Government members and in particular Mr Norman Tebbit, the new secretary of state for employment," he says. He believes Mr Tebbit will be a staunch ally in fighting for resources, because he is concerned about unemployment, cares deeply about training and wants progress on the NTI.

As far as skills for the future were concerned, Mr Holland said it was too easy to be mesmerized by an absolute definition of the skills that would be needed. What was really important was a shift in attitudes by unemployed workers to jobs other than those they considered suitable.

What was also clear was the continuing decrease in the number of blue collar jobs. By 1985 they would be far exceeded by the number of white collar jobs. About 1½ million unskilled and semi-skilled jobs will have disappeared by then.

Another of Mr Holland's major concerns is long term unemployment, with 600,000 unemployed for well over 12 months and the number likely to grow to one million rapidly.

"I believe that long term unemployment will now figure on any agenda, and that possibly new methods such as subsidies will be tried. But it is true that although politicians are concerned, they are still perplexed as to what ought to be done," he said.

فلا بد من

BOOKS

Saving their subject

by David Lodge

Ferocious Alphabets
by Denis Donoghue
Faber, £8.95
ISBN 0 571 11809 7
Saving the Text:
Literature/Derrida/Philosophy
by Geoffrey H. Hartman
Johns Hopkins University Press,
£7.75
ISBN 0 8018 2452 4

Geoffrey Hartman's *Saving the Text* bears the dedication, "For the Subject" — an arch pun very much in the style and spirit of the book itself. In poststructuralist jargon "the subject" refers to what prestructuralist discourse called the individual self, or person, or consciousness; while in that same discourse "the subject" would often be used to refer to an academic discipline or field of study. Both Professor Hartman's book and Denis Donoghue's *Ferocious Alphabets* are concerned with the impact of the new sense of "the subject" on their "subject" in the old sense, ie literature and literary studies.

In the poststructuralist perspective, individual man is not to be conceived of as a unique, substantial self, existing outside language and social relations, through which he expresses himself, but as the subject who is "produced" by the entry into language and social relations. Correspondingly, the meaning of a literary text in the same perspective is not a message sent by the author and decoded by the reader, but is produced by the entry of the reader into the text. In Derridean terms, the traditional concept of the author is a "transcendental signified" which has been falsely "centred" the discourse of literary criticism. The consequence of deconstructing it is that the traditional goal of literary criticism, interpretation, is infinitely postponed. The absence of the domain and play of signification indefinitely, says Derrida, in one of his early, seminal essays "Structure, Sign and Play in the Human Sciences". To summarize very crudely, Professor Donoghue deplores this development (which has had a much warmer welcome in America, where he now teaches, than in the British Isles, from where he originates), while Professor Hartman, one of the leading lights of Yale, which has been particularly hospitable to Continental theory, thinks it should be welcomed — though not quite with open arms.

Both writers could be said to be concerned with saving their subject. Donoghue from the anti-humanist implications of poststructuralism, Hartman from the twin, antithetical dangers of philistine resistance to post-structuralism, and uncritical capitulation to it. To Donoghue, deconstruction is a heresy, plausible but ruinous; to Hartman it is an exciting but dangerous new source of power, like nuclear fission, which cannot be left unattended, but needs to be handled with care and tact. Central to both books is the work and influence of Jacques Derrida, though this only gradually becomes apparent in *Ferocious Alphabets*, whereas *Saving the Text* consists mainly of direct commentary and reflection upon Derrida's book *Glac* (1974).

Denis Donoghue starts by reprinting some short radio talks he gave in a BBC series, entitled "Words", in which contributors were invited to reflect upon "the English language and the way we use it". Reflecting upon these talks themselves, Donoghue finds them flawed by his own uneasiness with the radio convention of "one-way speech". A radio talk is supposed to sound conversational, but necessarily lacks the element of dialogue and interaction which is the essence of true conversation. "What makes a conversation memorable is the desire of each

person to share experience with each other, giving and receiving. All that can be shared, strictly speaking, is the desire: it is impossible to share the experience." The second, qualifying sentence neatly sidesteps the obvious objection from the poststructuralists, namely, that there is always a gap or slippage between the signifier and the signified in which meanings change and proliferate beyond the control of the addresser. But the statement still assumes the existence of the autonomous self or person, which poststructuralism has called into question, and sought to replace with the notion of the "subject", a locus of converging codes.

Also in privileging speech ("conversation") Denis Donoghue is knowingly defying one of Derrida's key assertions — that the philosophical tradition of the West has, ever since Plato's *Phaedrus*, been vitiated by "logocentrism", by a false metaphysics of "presence" that privileges speech over writing. Speech implies presence — the presence of the speaker — and thus encourages the belief that meaning can be conveyed intact from addresser to addressee; writing implies absence, the absence of the author, and is therefore, according to Derrida, a more reliable exemplification of the slippery, equivocal, polysemous nature of language. Donoghue follows Wordsworth, who famously defined the poet as "a man speaking to men" in arguing that writing aspires to the condition of speech, but turns first to consider the discourse of literary criticism rather than poetry. "Style" in the work of critics as diverse as Ransom, Blackmur, Hugh Kenner, I. A. Richards and William Empson, T. S. Eliot and William Gass, is, he argues, a form of compensation for the lack of interpersonal communion that is inevitable in all writing.

Although there are some acute observations in this section of the book, especially on the Cambridge school, who "worried about communication, and decided to proceed as if it were possible, while suspecting that it was not", it seems a little slight and snippy. The next chapter, "Epidemiology" is more substantial, and grapples with more demanding material. "Epidemiology" is the reader's "form of compensation for the tokens of absence and distance which he finds in written words... the reader wants to restore the words to a source, a human situation involving speech, character, personality and destiny construed as having a personal form." Under this rubric, Denis Donoghue considers the phenomenological literary theory of Georges Poulet, who maintains that when we read a book, properly we allow the author to link himself in us — an idea which Donoghue regards as an attractive but ultimately Utopian. He finds a surer foundation for critical practice in Kenneth Burke, because Burke, deriving from Malinowski the idea that language is a mode of action before it is a mode of reflection, has been able to "devote continuous attention to words without yielding to the temptation to reify language... beyond or beneath the words, he has always posited a ground of action, a realm of motives which are mediated by words and symbols."

The third main section of *Ferocious Alphabets* is concerned with what follows (or in the case of Mallarmé anticipates) Derrida's privileging of writing over speech, and explores the implications of this for literary criticism. Barthes, Paul de Man and Derrida himself are discussed, under this heading. Denis Donoghue's hostility to this kind of criticism is evident, but equally evident is the genuine effort he has put into the task of understanding and characterizing it. Much British polemic against contemporary European literary theory and critical practice has the tone of a missionary evangelizing work designed to break down Anglo-Saxon resistance to de-



jumping up with his mouth full of bread and cheese shouting that he will stand no damned nonsense. Donoghue is lucid, urbane, intelligent and fair in his accounts of writers with whom he disagrees profoundly.

Ferocious Alphabets starts out with a somewhat improvised air, as if not quite sure where it is going, but gathers strength and authority as it proceeds. The title comes from Wallace Stevens, from whom Donoghue culls numerous happy phrases, "the lunatic of one idea." Contemporary critics, he suggests, "are lunatics of one idea, and they are celebrated in the degree of ferocity with which they enforce it." Summarizing his own Christian-liberal-humanist position, he states forthrightly, "I detest the current ideology which refers, gloatingly, to the death of the author, the obsolescence of the self, the end of man, and so forth." I am basically of the same opinion, and for basically the same reasons. The difference between us is that I do not see any essential incompatibility between this position and the use of structuralist methods of analysis; or between continuing to believe in the existence of the individual self (whether a moral self or a creative self) and acknowledging that it is only through suprapersonal codes, conventions and systems that the self can know or express itself. Denis Donoghue has little time for structuralism in its formalistic or sermonic applications, and seems to approve of the way in which Barthes and Derrida shook off its influence. If only he could persuade the poststructuralists to give up the notion of play, and put "imagination" back at the centre of literary discourse, he could, one feels, get along quite happily with them. But of course they won't, for reasons that Geoffrey Hartman worries away at in *Saving the Text*.

At first glance, this looks as if it is an antithetical enterprise to Professor Donoghue's. It is a missionary evangelizing work designed to break down Anglo-Saxon resistance to de-

construction. It consists largely of a commentary and reflection upon Derrida's *Glac*, a baffling and idiosyncratic book in which the French philosopher carried out the project he had adumbrated in that early essay on "Structure, Sign and Play" already cited.

the joyous affirmation of the play of the world and of the innocence of becoming, the affirmation of a world of signs without fault, without truth, and without origin which is offered to an active interpretation.

Glac (the French word means "kneel", but puns on *glace* in its double sense of "mirror" and "ice" — a medium as slippery as language) consists of extracts from and commentary upon texts by Hegel and Genet, which are printed in double columns on facing pages of the book. I should say that I have not actually read this work (nor have I any intention of doing so, life is too short) but Hartman reproduces some facsimile pages which enable one to grasp the basic idea (one that might well seem "lunatic" to Anglo-Saxon common sense). This is that to deconstruct the notion of linear logic on which discursive prose is usually based by sending the reader simultaneously with two discontinuous and disparate texts, and at the same time to encourage the generation of new, unpredictable meanings by the correspondences and contrasts, the play of mutual reflection, between them. A book, then, custom-made for a virtuoso "graphi-reader" such as Professor Hartman, who responds to its challenge with indefatigable zest.

Castration as a theme surfaces pointedly in Derrida's attempt to find in Hegel's commentary on the story of Abraham the conceptual articulation between "Aufhebung", castration, truth, law, etc. (53a) at the same time that the columns running opposite on the page return to Genet's description of the look — the mediating look — of Rembrandt's pictures. "X, chisme, deux textes mis en mouvement, l'un de l'autre" (53b). A "regard" that might castrate or turn into stone is put "en abyme": writing deflects, reflects, decentres it, it is figurative, anagrammatically, apotropically or symbolically cut as in circumcision or the endless découpage of name and text in Derrida, *déchié* (déchiré) until the logo-phallus or its absence, signification or its void, the whole, dizzying metaphysical desire for presence or absence is infinitely mediated not only in language but as language.

Faced with this sort of discourse, the instinct of the average British reader is to cut it out and send it to Freud's Corner. The impulse should be resisted. Neither Derrida nor Hartman is a charlatan. On the contrary, both are highly intelligent, erudite, original minds. The real question, which Hartman raises even as he contributes to the evidence which it addresses, is "Why is there such writing?" Or, as he puts it in another place, how explain "the persistence, the seriousness, with which intelligence of this order employs devices that may seem to be at best witty and at worst trivial." We may want to add: "and always wilfully obscure."

There are several possible answers. One could be: power. If one regards discourse, as I believe Foucault does, as a field which different subjects compete to dominate, then the deconstructive style of criticism is a very effective weapon, and, as a result, a very effective tool of power. Another answer would be: revolution. If the subject is constituted by the codes he operates, then subjects can be changed by changing the codes. (The snag is, of course, that the codes may be changed for evil rather than good, as Orwell demonstrated in 1984.) Professor Hartman's own answer is, I think, that it all follows from Nietzsche's announce-

ment of the death of God: "the joyful mystery [Derrida] has learned from Nietzsche starts with the death of God, with the abandonment of all hope of returning to the father by initiating a Word that was 'in the Beginning'."

This seems plausible. The Christian idea of God is certainly an exemplary instance of a "centre" or "transcendental signified", one which enables the text of the world to be interpreted. The Christian idea of the immortal individual soul made possible the humanist notion of the autonomous individual self, and neither, it seems, can coexist with Nietzsche's assertion that truth is merely an illusion created by "metaphors, metonymies and anthropomorphisms." "What survives in this graveyard of meanings," says Hartman, in an eloquent passage, "is not simply the will, but specifically the will to write."

Deconstruction, then, has an equivocal aspect in Professor Hartman's perspective, being seen as both a liberation and as a kind of Second Fall. It is a "joyous mystery" that Derrida has learned from Nietzsche, but in another place Professor Hartman says more wistfully, "We have fallen into the condition of seeing all things as texts," which sounds more like a curse than a blessing. In the first three chapters of *Saving the Text* the main emphasis is, however, on liberation, on coaxing, cajoling, persuading, and occasionally threatening the recalcitrant Anglo-Saxon empiricist reader into accepting the pleasure and the necessity of endless signification, interpretative freeplay. "Derrida tells literary people only what they have always known and repressed, repressed too much, perhaps. The fullness of equivocation in literary structures should now be thought to the point where Joyce's wordplay seems normal, and Empson's *Seven Types* archaic."

In the last chapter, there is a reversal. The "movement of liberation", Hartman says, "should not cheapen the mimetic and affective power of words, their interpersonal import." This sounds surprisingly close to Donoghue's position, and indeed Hartman goes on to invoke Kenneth Burke's notion of literature, healing power of the word. Hartman claims that he is offering a refutation to Derrida... not a refutation, but rather a different turn in how to state the matter. It comes out, however, as rather different "matter" (an affirmation of the moral and mimetic power for which literature has been traditionally valued) stated in Derridean language (a punning, allusive, somewhat mystical discourse playing with the concepts of "words" and "wounds" — "the medicinal function of literature is to word a wound words have made.")

I can't say that I completely followed the argument of this chapter, but I suspect Professor Hartman of trying to have his cake and deconstruct it. I certainly perceive a last-minute hesitation on the brink of a wish to "save the text" for the sake of "the subject"; the study of literature as part of what is still called "the humanities". One can hardly regret this backsliding on *Glac*, especially at the present historical juncture, when every subject is struggling for survival in a more than philological sense — when references and methodological "decouplings" and "poetic closure" are apt to lead by the process of semantic freeplay very quickly to thoughts of more literal cuts and closures. The abolition of the transcendental signified will, one fears, not cut much glacial with the UGC or the DES.

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BOOKS

Medieval sittings

The English Parliament in the Middle Ages
edited by R. G. Davies and J. H. Denton
Manchester University Press, £13.95
ISBN 0 7190 0833 6

A *Festschrift* is all too often an ill-assorted collection of papers which would have been better placed in the pages of some learned periodical. This volume, presented to Professor J. S. Roskill, is a splendid exception. The editors have succeeded in persuading a distinguished group of contributors to produce what is, in effect, a cooperative history of the medieval English parliament: a worthy tribute to a man who has done a very great deal to illuminate the workings of a most complex institution.

Over the years the history of parliament has been the subject of much controversy. Analyses of the composition and function of the institution have yielded radically different results, from Bishop Stubbs in the nineteenth century who emphasized its character as "an assembly of estates", to Richardson and Sayles who have, in tones of utter conviction, dismissed the early history of representation as largely irrelevant to the essentially legal character of parliament. It is a relief to find that many of the old arguments are side-stepped in this volume: the Statute of York of 1322, long debated to no very effective conclusion, "does not set features in the index. The general question of representation will not go away so easily, and three contributions cast new light on it."

In looking at "the prehistory of parliament" J. C. Holt concentrates less exclusively on the problem of representatives, even though they attended only a small minority of parliamentary meetings. Ignoring the current vogue for relating English constitutional developments to the concepts of Roman and Canon law, he deftly develops a study of the timing of writs of summons into an argument suggesting that representatives were not primarily summoned to give their consent to taxation, but to provide the government with information, and to enable it to communicate more effectively with its subjects. J. R. Maddicott takes the issue on into the fourteenth century, by concentrating his attention on the often ambiguous statutes and rolls, but on assiduously collected scraps of information, he reveals the way in which the knights of the shire served as a link between the government and the governed. It was not until the late fourteenth century that there was much competition to be elected, and for the historical, as for a contemporary poet, many MPs remain little more than a "nought in arithmetic, that may take a place but has no value in itself."

An often neglected aspect of representation is ably discussed by J. H. Denton, who examines the failure of the clergy to participate in full in parliament. Their energies were increasingly directed towards their own convocations, and this resulted in the emergence of a distinctly lay commonsense in parliament. These themes are complemented by G. L. Harriss, who wisely points out that the lasting importance of parliament was due to its comparison with the crown, and not to "obstructive and sterile" opposition, as the reign of Edward I makes very clear.

The period from 1377 to 1509 is covered by two papers, by A. L. Brown and the late A. R. Myers: the first part of the work is skillfully brought together. Professor Myers emphasizes the growing cohesion, confidence, and competence of the commonsense in period when there is evidence of disputed election, as they gained "in political importance, so the number of royal councillors and noble retainers retained as MPs increased. Much of

this will be familiar to historians of more modern periods, and the last contribution to the volume is a fascinating reaction by a historian of the seventeenth century, D. H. Pennington, to the work of the medievalists. He makes it very clear that it is not only those interested in the Middle Ages who will gain from reading this book: it is required reading for parliamentary historians of all periods.

One point all the contributors make clear: Professor Roskill's own work has been of fundamental importance in understanding both how the medieval parliament worked, and the wider implications of its emergence.

Michael Prestwich

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Before hindsight

Austria from Hapsburg to Hitler
volume one: Labor's Workshop of Democracy
volume two: Fascism's Subversion of Democracy
by Charles A. Gulick
University of California Press, £50.00 (the set)
ISBN 0 520 04211 5

The University of California Press has reprinted without changes or additions Gulick's monumental study of Austria between the two world wars, which first appeared in 1948. The social and political conflict which is the subject of the study has lost none of its interest and topicality in the 33 years which have elapsed since its original publication.

The dissolution of the Habsburg Empire created a situation in Vienna in which only the Social Democratic Party could exercise political power and maintain order. Led by Otto Bauer, the Party refrained from a Bolsheviki-type seizure of power on behalf of the workers' councils, partly for fear of intervention and blockade by the Entente. But it gained a democratic and republican constitution, secured important social reforms financed by progressive and luxury taxation, reorganized the army and police, and made Vienna into a great fortress of social democracy and of the workers supporting it. It was thus possible to argue, as Bauer did and as Gulick does in this study, that even after the stabilization of the economy on deflationary and capitalist lines, the democratic republic was not a pure bourgeois republic, and that the organized workers had conquered the essential positions for an ultimate seizure of power by peaceful and democratic means.

Ignaz Seipel, the clerical politician who had masterminded the economic stabilization, was cast in the role of society's saviour from the "Marxist" threat openly proclaimed by Bauer and the Social Democrats in the 1926 Linz Programme, and brought close to realization by the 1927 election result. Seipel, the great conservative parliamentarian, now launched his offensive against pluralist democracy, advocated the "true" democracy of the corporate state, and made an alliance with the Fascist paramilitary *Heimwehr*, who were assigned the task of challenging the "democratic" domestic dictatorship mounted by the Social Democrats.

The Social Democrats reargued their position in defence of the democratic constitution and of Vienna's status within it, so that the right-wing offensive produced only a few adjustments in what we should now call a "Gaulist" direction. But the decisive extra-parliamentary struggle was badly miscalculated. The Social Democratic leadership was no longer in sufficiently close touch with the organized masses, and this resulted in unorganized rioting on the one side, and directives which the movement could not sustain in action on the other.

The Great Depression and Hitler's seizure of power in Germany tipped the scales in this struggle decisively against democracy. Seipel's successor, Dollfuss, secured the Lausanne loan on conditions which spelt the

end of the "extravagant" welfare policy of the Vienna municipality. Logically, therefore, the now formidable challenge from the Nazi movement and its triumphant German backers was not countered by a coalition of all anti-Nazi forces in Austria, but by establishing a rival, Catholic-inspired Austro-fascism, dependent on the diplomatic support of Mussolini. The collapse of open Social Democratic resistance in only four days of civil war in February 1934, showed that repeated reverses, Hitler's triumph had demoralized the once confident labour movement, and that the army and police had been effectively reshaped and retrained to play their traditional role. There was thus no serious obstacle which could be put in Hitler's way, once he had concluded his "brutal friendship" with Mussolini.

Gulick's 1948 publication was the first comprehensive and documented historical account of this momentous conflict, and in many respects it has not been superseded by subsequent research. However, an unrevised reprint after so many years is bound to provoke some critical comment. Almost throughout, Gulick adopts a strongly partisan tone, which derives partly from the type of documentation available to him in the 1940s, and partly from his evident concern to justify the Social Democrats'

A Weak King

The Reign of King Henry VI: the exercise of royal authority 1422-1461
by Ralph A. Griffiths
Ernest Benn, £25.00
ISBN 0 510 26261 9

Sandwiched between the cultural, spiritual and constitutional achievements of the High Middle Ages, and the revolutionary changes of the Tudor Age, the fifteenth century received little attention from earlier generations of scholars. The long reign of Henry VI, in particular, attracted little research. An era of failure ending in disaster, there seemed little of importance to say about it.

Over the past thirty years this attitude has changed. Stimulated in particular by the work and teaching of K. B. McFarlane and attracted by a period where so little fundamental research had been done, a considerable number of scholars have devoted themselves to elucidating the political, constitutional and administrative problems of the reign of Henry VI. Much has been published in monographs and articles, much more remains in unpublished theses. A work of synthesis has long been needed. This year we have had two — each by a scholar whose earlier writing has already shed much light on the period — Dr Wolfe's *Henry VI* and the present work by Dr Ralph Griffiths.

Dr Griffiths tells us that his original intention was to produce a work of analysis on the structure of politics during the reign of King Henry VI, but, realizing the large number of unsolved factual problems, he altered his plan to a "detailed general account of events between 1422 and 1461", emphasizing "the exercise of royal authority". The result is a very long and detailed study of the politics of the reign divided into three sections — the minority, the period of personal rule and the approach of civil war — with a brief epilogue on the period 1461-71. Within the first two sections Dr Griffiths devotes chapters to various themes — king and house, the war, the council, finance, the war in France, and so on. There is some repetition on such a scale could be how a work on such a subject could be more effectively subdivided. Religious, cultural and social and economic affairs are considered only as they touch upon the main theme of the relationship between the Crown and its subjects, and more surprisingly, comparatively little attention is paid to administrative and legal developments or to parliament as an institution.

The most striking feature of the book is the great detail provided in the description and analysis of political events and the immense reading in secondary work, unpublished theses and printed and manuscript sources on which it is based. The sheer mass of information deployed presents problems for both author and reader. In almost every chapter new light is thrown on the events of the reign but the accumulation of detail on occasion looks like self-indulgence; and it makes for indigestible reading. Elsewhere, however, it is very successful: the chapter on Cade's Rebellion, for example, is the most detailed and convincing account of the rising that has yet appeared — though a full-scale study remains to be written.

Dr Griffiths does not provide a conclusion or summary but his general interpretation of the politics of the reign does not depart sharply from the established versions of McFarlane, Dr Storey and Dr Wolfe, though there are shifts of emphasis. On the vexed question of King's character and active responsibility for the troubles of the reign he is rather kinder than Dr Wolfe in seeing Henry as "well-intentioned" but admits he lacked "foresight and prudence". The evidence he presents is open to other interpretations, but estimates of the character of a medieval king are never likely to achieve unanimity when the evidence comes mainly from official records, for all was done in the King's name even when, as in the 1420s, he was a baby.

The politics of the reign are seen as essentially the relationship of the Crown with magnate factions. This interpretation in itself is not new but Dr Griffiths's research allows him to list in detail the individuals and groups forming alliances for and against Cardinal Beaufort, the Dukes of Gloucester, Suffolk, Somerset, York and so on. This provides a strong central spine of interpretation, but at times the alleged connexions will not bear the weight he places upon them and too often a kind of "two party" system is presented, where the evidence would suggest much more fragmented, temporary groupings; and the role of "public opinion" demands more intensive investigation.

It is, however, the accumulation of significant detail that provides the strength of the book. *The Reign of King Henry VI* is a rich plumb-pudding of a book, too long and heavily loaded to be read by many from cover to cover (though those who do not will miss a good deal) but which everyone interested in the period will now need to use. The extensive footnoting (at the end of each chapter) and lists of sources are invaluable guides to further reading.

Roger Virgoe

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Reason and restraint

Castlereagh
by Wendy Hinde
Collins, £16.00
ISBN 0 00 216308 X

To write a popular biography of Castlereagh is a formidable undertaking, given the difficulties of compressing the complexities of a long and controversial career into a modest compass. The difficulties are enhanced by the existence of old legends of bloody or repressive or even mad Castlereagh which, despite the efforts of academic historians, are still too widely believed. It is to be hoped that many who read Wendy Hinde's thoughtful and lucid account, written without a touch of jargon or pretentiousness, will find themselves compelled to revise their estimates of Castlereagh and to accept the essential rightness of the portrait she presents.

In most respects Wendy Hinde follows what is now the generally accepted consensus among historians. She wisely places a strong emphasis on Castlereagh's Irish background, showing how he strove, not merely to suppress rebellion and carry the Union, but to match firmness with conciliation and the defence of order with humanity towards defeated foes. She is not uncritical of his judgment and tactics during the Union debates, but she carefully places what was done in its contemporary context, making good use of Bolton's classic account of the passage of the Act of Union. Castlereagh's abortive spell as President of the Board of Control is particularly well treated, and justice is done to his achievements as War Secretary. In assessing Castlereagh as Leader of the House of Commons she follows the main lines of Cookson's recent work on the Liverpool administration, and without indulging in extravagant revisionism she shows how reasonable and restrained was the government's response to events.

Perhaps best of all is the picture presented of the man behind the politician. Wendy Hinde writes with perception and sympathy of Castlereagh's affection for his family, his loyalty as a brother, his devotion as a husband, his kindness and compassion as a landlord. His duel with Canning is handled with exceptional liberality of spirit and a shrewd awareness of the pressures upon Castlereagh and the motives which governed his conduct: an achievement all the more impressive coming from the author of an excellent biography of Canning. Castlereagh's suicide is discussed with good sense and without sensationalism, a due regard being shown for the deficiencies of the evidence and the tentative nature of any psychological explanation.

Nevertheless, some reservations remain. The book does not reach the same consistency of standard as that on Canning. There are times when Wendy Hinde misses some of the colour and drama of events. Her anxiety to be fair to everyone sometimes looks like blandness and she fails too often to match narrative with analysis. Although she recognizes Castlereagh's consistency as an advocate of Catholic emancipation, at least after 1800, she does not fully bring out the reasoning and expectations which determined his stance on the Catholic question. Similarly, she fails to lay sufficient emphasis on his appreciation of the long-term benefits of good Anglo-American relations; and her treatment of the diplomacy of the closing years of the war against Napoleon, and of the Congress system, lacks any clear analysis of the concepts underlying British policy or of the essential differences between Castlereagh and Metternich which Kissinger discussed so cogently some years ago. For all its qualities the book is a partial rather than a complete success. It will do much for Castlereagh's reputation, but it needs to be supplemented by works whose approach is more analytical and more searching.

John Derry

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BOOKS

Islamic worldview

The Arab Predicament: Arab political thought and practice since 1967
by Fouad Ajami
Cambridge University Press, £12.50
ISBN 0 521 23914 1

Much talk among specialist academics and some fanfare preceded the publication of this, Professor Ajami's first book. It is disappointing therefore when one discovers on reading it that it is no more than a synthesis of judgments about the Arab world, based on the analytical works of unrecognized earlier writers, many of them western scholars including Sir Hamilton Gibb, O. von Grunebaum and others. Thus the "predicament", the tension and the dilemma of the Arabs were not only so formulated by these scholars in the past but also, unlike Professor Ajami's presentation, painstakingly explained.

The failure of the modern Arab to integrate himself and his society into modernity, or to reformulate his religious faith, the traditional values and practices of his community in such a way as to make them acceptable to the mass of his fellow-Arabs, let alone command their loyalty, was eloquently set forth by some of these earlier writers. Alas, as "orientalists", their work, as well as that of others, was recently branded as western imperialist propaganda. Nevertheless, if one wishes to understand why liberalism failed, why in fact the modernist Islamic movement (pan-Islamic, nationalist or otherwise) foundered, and why recent militant Islamic movements are in essence derivative and restorative, one would do better to read them. Similarly, the divisions in the Arab world, arising from indigenous causes, were systematically exposed long ago, as was the suggestion that most movements of reform (liberal or otherwise) ever since the ninth and tenth centuries in Islam, founded on the rock of absolutism and autocracy. The intensification of communal strife, religious militancy and the very challenge of state structures – even the moves to re-draw the map of the region – were also adumbrated as long ago as the mid-1950s and 1960s by the revived western orientalist.

Paying little heed to this vast backlog of exposition, the author comes forward with a kind of Arab autocracy and a dash of theocratically to exclaim breathlessly: "Me too!". This way, a more systematic, sustained analysis of so-called Arab political thought is avoided, leaving much room for his entertaining commentary on Arab political practice which, at times, trivializes both politics and religion. Yet the reasons why talk overtakes action among Arab leaders or rulers, why ideologically par-Arab parties turn repressive or murderous, why the accoutrements of western technology are readily imported while the ethic and values underlying it are overlooked, spurned or rejected, are left unexplored. The emphasis on formal right behaviour in a community, the lack of trust, the absence of genuine political categories of public intercourse beyond the family or kinship group are hardly touched in the book.

Professor Ajami vividly describes Arab political behaviour in the past twenty years, but does not quite explain it. One wonders if Sir Hamilton Gibb, the distinguished Syrian Arabist, whom the author quotes extensively, would have behaved at all differently at power. The question is why he would not; and it is a crucial question which the author overlooks. Nor are we any wiser about the nature of Arab political thought, its content or its relevance. We are however told how Arabs made history, that is, what they are or have been in the past twenty years. And this is something.

About four hundred years ago Christian Europe reconciled itself to living in two worlds. But Christians have had an advantage over Muslims

then and today: no verse in the Gospels, as in the Koran, assured them that "Power belongs to God, and to His Apostle, and to the Believers". Moreover the Muslim believer's duty is to live, work and die for the realization of God's revealed order on earth as a preparation for life eternal, and in this sense, Islam is a political religion. But this constitutes a daunting human prospect and unattainable immanentist goal. So long as Islam was temporally successful and triumphant, it vindicated the Muslim's faith. But it has not been so for two hundred years now. The realization of this fact is almost unbearable for it undermines both the religion's emphasis on this world and its concept of mundane history. It is not easy therefore for the Muslim to opt for a completely secular world as this would mean rejecting his faith. And this reluctance is shared by the vast majority of Muslims.

One may argue that Islam is what the Muslims make it, or say it is, and in this may lie the hope of integrating themselves and their communities into the modern world. Yet the reasoned exposition of this terrible dilemma of the Muslim Arab must await a more systematic treatment than the epigrammatic and, in places, aphoristic, excursus of Professor Ajami.

Stable democracy

West Germany: politics and society
by David Childs and Jeffrey Johnson
Croom Helm, £10.95 and £5.95
ISBN 0 7099 0701 X and 0702 8
Germany Transformed: political culture and the new politics
by Kendall L. Baker, Russell J. Dalton and Kai Hildebrandt
Harvard University Press, £17.50
ISBN 0 674 35315 3

Both these books offer in different ways a commentary on what is judged to be the successful stabilization of democratic politics in the Federal Republic.

West Germany: politics and society does this with a survey of political activity and institutions (thirteen chapters), followed by eight chapters on various aspects of social and economic structure and activity as well as law and order, the armed forces and foreign policy. Most of this material is descriptive and is by no means as "comprehensive" as is claimed. It also contains quite a lot of minor errors: Schmidt's first Government, for example, contained 15 and not 18 ministers (as compared with 17 when Brandt resigned), the membership figures for Bundestag Committees are incorrect, some of the details on university structure are wrong. The authors do not offer much evaluation, nor do they make explicit what is, in their view, the relationship between politics and society. On the whole, however, they give the Federal Republic a clean bill of political health, though sometimes hinting that there is room for improvement.

Germany Transformed is in style and method quite different. It is an exercise in political science analysis of the quantitative kind by three American scholars. The aim is to analyse over time, chiefly on the basis of survey data covering the period 1953-76, the factors accounting for the stabilization of a democratic political system in the Federal Republic. The outcome is, not surprisingly, to confirm the conclusion that Germany is now a stable democracy, in a sense this must be so: it has been stable for over thirty years and looks like staying that way. But, so it is believed, the conclusions drawn from ordinary observation and critical attention to what has actually happened since the Federal Republic was founded require the reinforcing confirmation of survey data analysis.

Many familiar judgments are endorsed by the data used. Support for the regime is high and widely diffused; the sense of political efficacy has grown, interest in politics is

strong, reasonably stable patterns of partisanship have developed, issues and governmental effectiveness have an impact on political attitudes but are by no means decisive, social status has a declining effect on party affiliations, religion is still important in the case of those who are religious, and so on. Propositions of this kind are correlated with generational groups, income levels, and standards of education and, once again, a variety of truisms are confirmed. The only new explanatory factor introduced by the authors is what they call the "New Politics". This refers to "quality-of-life" issues which became prominent in the mid-1960s and have continued ever since to find a place in party programmes. Government policies and general political discussion. This cluster of issues (never precisely defined) is used to explain such things as the continuing decline of social indicators as predictors of party support and to characterize the context within which political attitudes are evolving. It seems to me that the importance attributed to the New Politics is dangerously modish, having regard to the fact that we live in a very uncertain world. The bread-and-butter issues of the Old Politics – questions of security, for example, and the argument about nuclear weapons – have a habit of recurring.

Many objections can be made to this type of political science analysis. Perhaps the most fundamental is that it confuses a range of correlations with serious causal explanation. To some extent the authors recognize the danger of this happening, for when they come to statements of cause and effect they retreat often enough into the conditional and tentative language of those who reach conclusions by more conventional observation and the appraisal of different kinds of evidence. There is also the problem that we need to know why particular correlations are important. If this had been pursued, question-marks might have appeared over the status of much of the data. For there is little doubt that surveys of the kind used here proliferate self-fulfilling prophecies and the theoretical frameworks into which they are set make matters worse by encouraging circular arguments; in other words, effects are explained by reference to supposedly causal conditions which themselves embody in some degree these effects. This is, of course, particularly applicable to the concept of political culture.

It is not surprising that *Germany Transformed* reveals other weaknesses typical of this approach to political analysis. The authors' underlying assumptions about a democratic regime are nearly as culture-bound as were those of Almond and Verba in *The Civic Culture*, a work whose judgments on Germany are quite rightly revised. But it does mean that the yardsticks used for evaluating German political development closely reflect American experience, and as a result convey no sense of the difference of German political life. Inevitably in a study like this there is also a lack of historical depth in the sense of reaching back beyond the chosen data base. The authors sometimes treat the generations born before 1945 as if they all bore the mark of Cain, but on other occasions as remarkable examples of born-again Christians. Finally, more rigour in the use of language would not have come amiss. Germany, we are told at one point, "is unique in the degree of historical and political change experienced since the turn of the century". These books are typical of much that is now published for the instruction of students of politics. Nor do they fall below the general standard of the two genres – current affairs information and somewhat mechanical behavioural analysis – which they represent. But they certainly prompt uncomfortable questions about the foundations of a university education in politics, and indeed about the subject itself. Perhaps we need a moratorium on books about politics here and politics there. We might then have time to consider what it means to ask a political question in the first place and to engage in a political inquiry.

Nevill Johnson
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"Madrid, 1936" a photomontage by leading Dadaist John Heartfield, (1891-1968), taken from Edward Lucie-Smith's *The Art of Caricature* (Orbis Press, £8.95 and £5.95). This, one of Heartfield's most famous animal allegories, depicts the Nazis and Italian Fascists as vultures, advancing on the final bayonets of the Republican army, and is captioned with the Republican slogan "They shall not pass! Let us overcome!"

Samurai revolution

The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan
by Thomas M. Huber
Stanford University Press, \$19.50
ISBN 0 8047 1048 1

The ideological springs of the Meiji Restoration in Japan – the great transformation set in motion in 1868 – have long fascinated not only several generations of Japanese scholars but also European and American observers of modern Japan.

Some have described that transformation as "an incomplete bourgeois revolution"; others have called it "a revolution from above", a destruction of the ruling samurai class by the samurai themselves. The modernization programme, the essence of the Meiji Restoration, has also been labelled a primarily imitative phenomenon, the pragmatic response to irresistible pressure by the West. In Professor Huber's view such interpretations are at best partially, if not completely mistaken. It is the purpose of his book to offer, as he puts it, "fresh concepts that may more satisfactorily explain Japan's great transformation".

Professor Huber argues that the Meiji Restoration was essentially "a blow struck at pervasive patterns of social injustice by a frustrated and ultimately embattled service intelligentsia", a domestic affair in which the western challenge "figured only as a convenient instrumentalality". Who, then, were "the service intelligentsia" of Tokugawa Japan? Huber makes a very good case for identifying them as samurai of low rank and their equivalents, such as priests and village headmen. All men of education, literate, bearing varying burdens of administrative responsibility, yet they received such small stipends as to be close to poverty. Above them were the "inner vassals", the samurai with large incomes. These "aristocrats" were, in Huber's view, the adversaries of the "service intelligentsia".

The general argument is presented in terms of a study of the Chōshū province in western Japan, the old province of the samurai hero, the late figures of the Meiji Restoration, notably Yōsida Shōin, a hero of the Meiji oligarchy, several of whom were his

pupils at the private academy he ran. But other, less well known, teachers and activists play an influential part in Huber's story, which is firmly based on an impressive scholarly research. Indeed, the complicated events, the shifts of alliances, the skirmishes and battles, of the 1860s in western Japan have not hitherto been so minutely analysed in the English language; although brilliant pioneer work was produced twenty years ago by Professor Craig of Harvard. It is debatable how far Professor Huber has succeeded in putting forward convincing alternative explanations of Chōshū's role to what extent his general interpretation is entirely new. That he has enlarged our knowledge of the facts is undeniable.

This fairly esoteric work will be of greatest interest to specialists in the field of modern Japanese political and social history, though it should not be neglected by students of comparative politics. In the final chapter Huber glances at interpretations of the French and Russian Revolutions, and draws parallels with Japan in 1868. Both in France and Russia the initial impetus came from an idealistic intelligentsia. So it was in nineteenth century Japan. "Lower samurai", Weber's "property-less intelligentsia", were inspired to a remarkable degree by what Huber calls "a strong ideal interest in the well-being of all". This altruism fortified them in institutional terms.

Thus, Mr Charvet follows his mentor in asserting that individuals must have some private property, but lacks the question of what this entails in institutional terms: it would be necessary to distinguish property in different types of things, such as houses, land, tools, stocks and shares and so on, but such an investigation would take one too far away from my intention here merely to sketch in the type of social arrangement that is implied in and required by the developed moral consciousness. So I shall say here only that the right to private property involves a right of the individual to some property in which to embody his personality. The underlying basis of this, though, is the claim that since individuals naturally control their own skills and energy, recognizing them as persons is tantamount to recognizing them as having property in their skills and energy.

There is much to be said against that claim: the most obvious point being that each civil rights as the freedom to choose one's own occupation just as much as to be property rights at all. Hence, of course, the possibility that there could perfectly well be a system of ownership of the means of production consistently

with the recognition of individual freedom of occupational choice. Does the developed moral consciousness's perception that we have a right to private property rule out socialism or not? Since Mr Charvet seems to accept that there will be social classes, and is explicit in denouncing aspirations for equality of opportunity as a nonsense, it looks as if he must think it does – but where is an argument to show it?

The critical portions of the book are generally persuasive – only generally, since so much ground is covered so briskly, and Mr Charvet hardly has space to convince the sceptical that his Hobbes, Rousseau et al really did hold the views he says. But the drift of his account is plausible enough – liberalism is committed to freedom and equality because it is, in its individualist versions, committed to the view that each individual as a self-determining being has an absolute value just like every other individual. Problems promptly break loose when we look for a basis for this claim, and when we ask how creatures whose projects have absolute value are supposed to relate to each other. Rousseauian attempts to generate morality from individual self-seeking by ascribing an innate sentiment of pity won't do; but the Kantian solution of simply opposing the natural self-seeking individual and his better moral self won't do either.

In short, if you start from self-interest, independent individuals and try to construct moral relations between them, you always end up with the same difficulty – there's no natural reason for them to accept the demands of morality. On the other hand, if we turn to Hegel or Marx the problem vanishes in altogether the wrong way – individuals vanish to be replaced by aspects of a whole.

As one might expect, Mr Charvet's discussion is organized tidily, but one is a critic of individualist political ethics as represented by Hobbes, Rousseau, Kant, the Utilitarians, Rawls, and Nozick: but two is a critique of the wrong way of holistic political ethics as represented by Hegel and Marx; that he resolves the conflict between ethics founded on independent individuals and an ethics founded on a central whole by showing how independent individuals in relation to one another form a moral community which confirms their value as concrete individuals without dissolving it into a mere facet of the value of the whole. It is done very deftly, though towards the end very predictably, too – it gets very like hearing a graduate student summarizing the *Philosophy of Right*, and it comes as a decided (though very pleasant) shock when Mr Charvet strikes out for himself and defends a thesis based on individuals against Hegel's case for a class. This also suffers from the characteristic defect of English Idealism in its heyday, which is a tendency to make large and apparently convincing claims, which on examination turn out to be either vacuous or require argument at an empirical and institutional level which the philosopher declares to be none of his business.

Thus, Mr Charvet follows his mentor in asserting that individuals must have some private property, but lacks the question of what this entails in institutional terms: it would be necessary to distinguish property in different types of things, such as houses, land, tools, stocks and shares and so on, but such an investigation would take one too far away from my intention here merely to sketch in the type of social arrangement that is implied in and required by the developed moral consciousness. So I shall say here only that the right to private property involves a right of the individual to some property in which to embody his personality. The underlying basis of this, though, is the claim that since individuals naturally control their own skills and energy, recognizing them as persons is tantamount to recognizing them as having property in their skills and energy.

There is much to be said against that claim: the most obvious point being that each civil rights as the freedom to choose one's own occupation just as much as to be property rights at all. Hence, of course, the possibility that there could perfectly well be a system of ownership of the means of production consistently

BOOKS

Revived idealism

A Critique of Freedom and Equality
by John Charvet
Cambridge University Press, £17.50
ISBN 0 521 23727 0

The history of philosophy is a comforting discipline for those who would like to believe in the Resurrection of the Dead. There is almost no doctrine which being once dead and duly certified to be so has not subsequently climbed out of its grave and stalked the streets in broad daylight. In the case of John Charvet's *A Critique of Freedom and Equality* it is the corpse of English Idealism which has turned out to be impressively apt for resuscitation.

This is not to say that Mr Charvet's *Critique* is exactly like anything any of the English Idealists proposed, the conservatism of his conclusions and the rather sneering tone in which he defends them are reminiscent of Bosanquet – he is less witty than Bradley. But Mr Charvet wants to have a broadly Hegelian account of ethics and politics without subscribing to Hegel's metaphysics, and on the whole it was Bosanquet's critics who wanted that, precisely because they thought that the full-blown Hegelian system denied moral importance to the concerns of particular here-and-now individuals. Mr Charvet shares their view of Hegel, but not their reformism.

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The critical portions of the book are generally persuasive – only generally, since so much ground is covered so briskly, and Mr Charvet hardly has space to convince the sceptical that his Hobbes, Rousseau et al really did hold the views he says. But the drift of his account is plausible enough – liberalism is committed to freedom and equality because it is, in its individualist versions, committed to the view that each individual as a self-determining being has an absolute value just like every other individual. Problems promptly break loose when we look for a basis for this claim, and when we ask how creatures whose projects have absolute value are supposed to relate to each other. Rousseauian attempts to generate morality from individual self-seeking by ascribing an innate sentiment of pity won't do; but the Kantian solution of simply opposing the natural self-seeking individual and his better moral self won't do either.

In short, if you start from self-interest, independent individuals and try to construct moral relations between them, you always end up with the same difficulty – there's no natural reason for them to accept the demands of morality. On the other hand, if we turn to Hegel or Marx the problem vanishes in altogether the wrong way – individuals vanish to be replaced by aspects of a whole.

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Jean-Jacques Rousseau

(It ought to be noted that Mr Charvet's title is misleading – it is explanations of the value of freedom and equality which he is attacking; he is firmly committed to the view that an equality of rights is what the moral consciousness dictates, and he is firmly committed to the view that various sorts of freedom are among the things we have rights to.)

The conclusion, too, seems to be right, that we must start with the moral life as it is, rather than with what we might have cooked up behind a veil of ignorance or whatever. Whether we then have to follow the rather unargued route that Mr Charvet then follows is another thing entirely.

Alan Ryan
Alan Ryan is a fellow of New College, Oxford.

analytical philosophers. But this skillful piece of analytical philosophy is somewhat curiously relegated to the obscurity of an appendix, whereas it would have made a rather clearer opening than the actual first chapter, which plunges us into the murky waters of true and false needs, alienation and the like. At the risk of betraying nostalgia for the 1950s and 1960s I recommend the reader to begin with the appendix where there are logical maps to be found for the jungles in some of the earlier chapters.

It would be unfair to imply that Dr Springborg's philosophical abilities are restricted to playing the games of conceptual analysis: she seems as much at home in the Marxist as in the analytical tradition. Indeed, the book abounds in philosophical insights of various kinds. For example, on page 217 she writes:

"Ilich, like Marx himself and most radical thinkers, underestimates the degree to which capitalism as a social and historical complex is intractable to social engineering, partly because they confuse the phenomenon with its ideal type: those systemic relations by which it is identified, for example, the market as a commodity form. This confusion is of crucial importance, for it is only on the assumption of a highly integrated system that a radical solution is possible: attack the root and the whole structure collapses. In reality, social change is not like this..."

There are hints in the acknowledgements that the book originated in a PhD thesis, and certainly there are signs of the more fatiguing aspects of scholarship which make the book heavy going to read through, nevertheless, it is a highly worthwhile and useful. Moreover, it is not just a history of the concept of need because, as her grand title is no doubt intended to bring out, the history of our views on needs is also the history of our views of human nature and society. This point, made by Plato in the *Republic*, she illustrates in her detailed discussions of numerous writers who have analysed the connections between individual needs and the social realities in which they are experienced.

As well as providing a source book on the history of ideas Dr Springborg reveals considerable philosophical ability. There is a chapter on "Needs as a Concept" in which on "Needs" analysis is carried out with an article by Paul Taylor in *Analysis* 1959 taking the centre of a discussion of the views of various

Self-reliance

The Identity of the Self
by Geoffrey Madell
Edinburgh University Press, £7.50
ISBN 0 85224 422 3

The fundamental problems of personal identity are considered by Madell in this closely reasoned and wholly commendable book. He cogently examines some of the discussions which have occurred among philosophers interested in this question. He tells us that it has been approached in two radically different ways.

First there is the empiricist position which is primarily a third-person account, and is concerned with how others come to recognize the same person. It tends to emphasize bodily continuity as the main criterion of personal identity, and claims that there is nothing about personal identity which differentiates it from the identity of physical objects. Madell associates this approach with such philosophers as Ayer, Parfit and Williams, among others.

Second, there is the first-person approach which emphasizes the way I come to see that I am the same self-identical person I was yesterday. Madell accepts this position, arguing that there is an immediate recognition of self-identity and that this is not derivative from memory. He agrees with McTaggart that "I" is a logically proper name, and that its referent can only be known by acquaintance and not by description. He is also sympathetic to the views of Thomas Reid and Joseph Butler, who argue that self-identity is simple and is presupposed by the notion of moral responsibility. Madell favours a modified form of their position, but rejects a transcendental ego, which he regards as just another kind of object. His view here is remarkably like Sartre's, who counsels us not to treat consciousness as a thing. Madell is critical of the empiricist

position, which unlike his, is widely held among contemporary philosophers. He argues that we get bogged down in circularity if the body is introduced to explain the unity of experiences in one mind. Thus in order to establish that any group of experiences is mine, I have to establish that it satisfies the criterion of being connected with the body; but to do this, I have first to identify those experiences as mine. And, as Madell also notes, it is patently absurd to argue that until I establish that my present experiences are related to the one body, I cannot ascribe them to myself: this assumes that I can somehow be aware of experiences, yet not know that they are my own.

Madell overlooks a third alternative: that the centre of willed experience and reference is not the sophisticated self-consciousness of the McTaggartian "I", but the lived first-person body, of which we are aware through general organic feeling and kinesthetic sensation. Freud, for example, argued that our later ego-feeling developed from such experiences. Where the proponents of the body as a criterion for personal identity go wrong, is to assume that the third-person body gives us an infallible criterion of personal identity.

In his positive contribution to the debate Madell might also have taken more account of the social dimension. Self-consciousness usually occurs when we have to come to terms with other persons. He implicitly recognizes this, when he insists on the link between responsibility and self-identity. We feel responsible when we become aware of our obligations to others. Similarly, "moral" emotions such as shame, remorse and gratitude have their origin in our relationships with others. We do not live in a social vacuum: the "I" cannot be divorced from the "you".

Wolfe Mays
Dr Mays is a fellow of the Institute of Advanced Studies, Manchester Polytechnic.

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A stylized line drawing of a Space Shuttle on the launch pad. The shuttle is oriented vertically, with its nose pointing upwards. It features a large central orbiter and two solid rocket boosters on either side. The orbiter has a large, pointed nose cone and a rectangular window. The boosters are cylindrical with a series of vertical lines indicating segments. The shuttle is mounted on a launch pad structure, which is partially visible at the bottom. The background is a simple horizontal line.

new**scientist**
every Thursday

Don's diary

Wednesday

10.15 hrs. Turkish Airlines DC10 bound for Istanbul takes off 30 minutes late. Aircraft less than half full. Is this another prestige air line? Note absence of seat numbered 13; so the Turks have inherited that particular Christian superstition! Reflect on the fact that the second ecumenical council of the Christian Church was held in Constantinople 1600 years ago, AD 381. Wonder if proceedings were conducted in Latin as well as Greek, in which case interpreters were probably used. Proceed to complete Turkish immigration form; surprised at absence of French on questionnaire in Turkish, English and German. Recall that there are some 750,000 Turkish *Gastarbeiter* working in the German Federal Republic whose remittances are important for the Turkish balance of payments. Put finishing touches to paper to be read at European Communities-organized two-day seminar on the training of interpreters and translators in Turkey. Seminar is to be held at Bogazici University in Istanbul; discover that Bogazici is Turkish for Bosphorus, of which one translation is *Öz-ford*.

Arrive at Istanbul airport where met by British Council representative from Ankara who is attending the seminar as observer. Relieved to learn that curfew in Istanbul extends only from 2 am to 5 am. Check into Istanbul Sheraton hotel where given room with spectacular view across the Bosphorus to Asia.

Thursday

Awaken to sound of early morning traffic, and sun rising over Asia. Watch shipping on the Bosphorus from balcony. Breakfast in hotel café, surrounded by German tourists. Discover that one can use German successfully on occasions with Turks who fail to understand English.

Collected by British Council representative who drives me to Bogazici University; until 1971 this was Robert College, an American foundation dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, now one of two English-medium universities in Turkey, the other being the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. Note presence of armed soldiers at entrance; am becoming accustomed to encountering troops guarding public buildings. Since the military coup of September 12 1980, Turkey has been living under martial law; nevertheless, the Turks seem relieved to be able to go about their daily business without the risk of terrorist attacks. Students no longer show each other in universities, and the occupation and bombing of schools has ceased. The West is concerned about Turkey's lack of democratic institutions but, as one Turkish academic put it to me, what is the point of democratic institutions if one ends up with a bloodbath?

The seminar opens with a speech by the rector of the university, who stresses that Turkey is opening up to the Western world and the need for interpreters is growing. The European Community Commission has sent two of its experienced interpreter trainers as participants, from whom we hear how the Commission tackles the selection and training of its conference interpreters. I give my paper on the training of interpreters in the United Kingdom and, after hearing from the French representative on the training of interpreters in France, there ensues a lively debate on the modalities of training translators and interpreters of high quality. Discussion centres on the desirability of establishing training programme in Turkey. Participants spend evening at a fish restaurant along the Bosphorus in the village of Tarabiyas, accompanied by loud, electronically amplified orchestra. Bastardized belly-dancing.

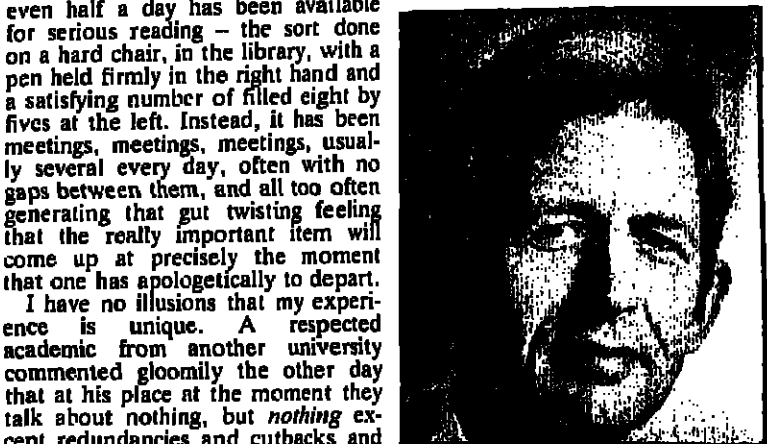
Friday

The Turkish Consultative Assembly

The author is professor of modern languages at the University of Bath.

James Coveney

Academic life in peril with academic lives



William Taylor

It would be a lie to say that so far this term I have not opened a book. There have been references to look up and the odd quote to check, and a few novels have occupied the hour round midnight. But for the first time in years, not a single day, not even half a day has been available for serious reading - the sort done on a hard chair, in the library, with a pen held firmly in the right hand and a satisfying number of filled eight by fives at the left. Instead, it has been meetings, meetings, meetings, usually several every day, often with no gaps between them, and all too often generating that gut twisting feeling that the really important item will come up at precisely the moment that one has apologetically to depart.

I have no illusions that my experience is unique. A respected academic from another university commented gloomily the other day that at his place at the moment they talk about nothing, but nothing except redundancies and cutbacks and closures. What has become of those useful common room and corridor exchanges in which the name of an author or an article crops up in a general conversation, or a speaker is brought up short by a challenge to an idea or position hitherto taken for granted? They have been sacrificed to the great God Contraction and his fellow deities Rationalization, Retrenchment and Review. Such exchanges, together with the serendipitous outcomes of work in the library that isn't to a deadline or a timetable, are difficult to cost in terms of effectiveness. There is no place for them in the questionnaires that some of those engaged in the review business are having to push around. Yet without them, something, and a not unimportant something, is lost. The extent of that loss may not show up the number and quality of this year's publications and completed research reports. It may do so next year, it certainly will in the years to come.

Another sacrifice being made to Contraction is an increase in institutional contentiousness. Contentiousness, of course, always been a feature of academic life. There is a myth that life in industry, commerce, central and local government and anywhere else but academia is filled with eye-ball-to-eye-ball confrontations of a rugged, frontiersman variety that are good for competitiveness and efficiency. Belief in this myth fuels political attacks on the universities, but it should fool no one.

There are very few occupations where the whole of one's personal output - lectures, research, publication - is subject to public criticism and evaluation, and where, however modest one's rank, there is ultimately no one else to carry the can. There is a difference, however, in the sharp contention that arises from

no longer serves as the habitual mode of decision making; the fine print of voting procedures become vital.

All this attracts little sympathy outside. Have not firms and undertakings and enterprises always had to take decisions of these kinds, often with consequences for individual careers and personal lives that are unpleasant, and frequently, as today, on the basis of inadequate information and uncertainties about the future?

Yes, they have. But most firms and enterprises are not governed like universities and colleges. There is seldom provision for the kind of employee participation in decision-making that has always been an essential feature of our own modes of governance. Academics are obliged to accept responsibility in departments, faculty boards, senates and councils for every aspect of institutional life, from the maintenance of the fabric to the making and breaking of individual careers. The closing of a market or a resolution of a board of directors, however painful the consequences in terms of jobs, is more easily perceived as an event, an inevitable consequence of external conditions, than the decision of a senate vote about who may stay and who shall go.

There are many kinds of damage being done to higher education by the policies of the present government. Not least important is the undermining of collegial governance and the destruction of relationships and understandings which underpin many of the essential qualities of the academic enterprise. Such understandings have taken generations to develop and to be disseminated.

The ever present reality of peer review and assessment, the cut and thrust of assertion and riposte that sharpen and focus ideas, the forming and reforming of coalitions to support or to oppose this or that academic initiative, all produce contention. But the feelings surrounding these processes are very different from those generated by knowing that the votes of one's colleagues at a matter of life or death for a department or an activity, that careers and the shape of personal lives turn on the raised hands (or otherwise) of men and women who may for many years have been colleagues, associates and friends.

There is nothing inherently absurd about universities even 20 per cent smaller than they are today. But the damage done in the process of getting there, at the speed at which we are being forced to move, may inflict wounds on the character of academic life which will take a very long time to heal.

Union view

has now been exchanged for verbal support from 3,500 fragmented, non-militant lecturers.

In reorganizing the committees the Secretary of State has not been without allies. The Houghton Report recommended this separation. It was also supported by the five unions, but opinion in the EIS has veered substantially since then for two reasons: first, in response to the further education critics who alleged that as a school teachers' union the EIS was preoccupied with the day schools and neglected further education; the EIS five years ago reorganized its further education membership into an official and elected executive; and second, as the education sector became increasingly squeezed and cut, the preservation of jobs became the key issue and lecturers began to value the support which was available to them as long as they remained members of strong, comprehensive teachers' union. The successful defence of teachers' jobs on fixed-term contracts in schools and colleges by the Lothian EIS is a recent example of the old trade union rallying cry, "unity is strength".

On their own, tertiary targets, Scotland offer an accept the break-away from the schools in the new committees says a lot about their aspirations but very little about their realism.

Arthur J. Houston

The author is the further education officer of the Educational Institute of Scotland.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The importance of presenting a united defence

Sir, - It is altogether regrettable that our vice chancellors have decided, or perhaps have proceeded by default, to respond individually to the financial cuts and related advice handed down to us by the UGC. The threat is posed to the university system as a whole, not merely to individual institutions. Our argument is not with the UGC, which has merely parcelled out the Government's collective imposition; therefore our reply should be collective, not fragmented.

Yet we have so developed our argument to see all sides of a question that we can be relied upon to obscure even the plainest of problems. As a result, each university sits in isolation, earnestly and fruitlessly debating the relative merits of Anglo-Saxon studies and chemical physics, and our response to the UGC will produce a patchwork of hurt and injuries: painful, perhaps - especially to those of us

whose careers are extinguished - but not immediately fatal for the majority. How insidious an attack - and how perfect an example of the principle *divide et impera*.

Are we so uncertain of the academic values of scholarship and education that we cannot do better than this? If so, then we shall deserve fully the fate in store for us. Meanwhile, just having sat through a meeting at which a gathering of chemists attempted to reach an agreed judgment on the value of a department of architecture, amongst others, I can only hope that when we hear their corresponding assessment of us, we shall be able to accept it with good grace.

Yours in sorrow,
J. M. HAYNES,
School of Chemistry, Bristol University.

Sir, - May I on behalf of the Association of Art Historians make a contribution to the debate on cuts

which is in progress at Bristol University?

One of the departments proposed for the axe is the history of art and we should like to put before those at Bristol, on whom the unenviable task of making a decision rests, the following points.

The history of art is still a comparatively new subject and is taught, on any scale, in only 12 British universities. It is not, however, a minority subject, but one for which there is a high student demand that shows no sign of slackening. The subject also has an important service role to play, particularly in relation to history and modern languages, and any arts faculty which does not have it is surely depriving its students of an opportunity to study an important part of their cultural heritage. On these grounds more of it is needed rather than less.

Ironically, too, a number of those responsible for secondary education

have recently begun to realize the necessity for critical and historical studies in art as a natural part of the school curriculum. To this the universities will need to respond and for the study of the visual arts to be used now from any university is thus doubly ridiculous.

The subject must, of course, suffer in the present retraction like any other, but we cannot but feel that, as we pointed out to the UGC in August, the traditional arts subjects which are established in all universities on a large scale are better able to withstand cuts than we. The abolition of a whole department would be disproportionately damaging not only to the universities, but to education in the country as a whole.

Yours sincerely,
J. R. STEER, Chairman,
Association of Art Historians, Department of History of Art, Birkbeck College, London University.

April. Perhaps English will change again on this point, but not for "sexist" reasons; for otherwise we should find Greek and German girls complaining that their language made them sexless; shy Frenchmen blushing to find the dining-table uncovered; and brawny, bearded Italian Alpine guides objecting to being classified as feminine.

There are usages of English that do betray an undesirable sexual bias in the user; and these can always be replaced by something better. The current uses of "his" and "him", however, and you may describe them grammatically, do not come into that category; and it is a pity that some people with an enthusiasm for laudable principles should appear foolish through choosing a quite inappropriate target for attack.

Yours sincerely,
MICHAEL BULLLEY,
3 Linden Avenue, Altrincham.

al one can only be alarmed that the expenditure of public funds should be entrusted to a council whose members have such a poor command of their native language. Loose language is often the consequence of loose thinking.

The sample I have picked on is by no means unique. I might add, for example, that sometimes the document refers to a major sub-committee of the council as the International Activities Committee and sometimes as the Internal Affairs Committee: these two words are by no means synonymous.

Yours sincerely,
J. D. FAGE,
Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham.

Fighting for Fulbright

Sir, - I would like to correct the misleading impression conveyed by the title *Goodbye to Fulbright* - one of your leading articles on November 13.

It is true, as your leader and the report in the previous week's edition explained, that the Fulbright programme may be threatened with severe cuts, but this is not extinction. The final decision about the magnitude of any cuts depends upon Congress. The Fulbright Commission here, as well as its present and former scholars, has made known its concern direct to key members of the Senate and the House of Representatives in Washington. The other Fulbright Commissions in Europe have acted in similar fashion. Whilst awaiting this final decision I would like to make clear to scholars and institutions who look to us for financial support that we anticipate having some awards available in 1982/83, but regrettably it has to be accepted that these may be rather fewer than in recent years. As soon as anything definite is known, the commission will arrange for the necessary announcements.

Yours faithfully,
J. O. A. HERRINGTON,
United States-United Kingdom Educational Commission,
6 Porter Street, London W1.

French lead

Sir, - In such a time of multiple crisis in higher education, I would like to make a small suggestion for change, which occurred to me after reading about the French presidential election of earlier this year. As an intellectual preparation for the possibility of becoming head of state, François Mitterrand held, over a two-year period, a series of long private interviews with the leaders of French thought in all fields, arts and sciences, to discuss the latest developments in research and their prospects for the future.

My suggestion is that our vice chancellors and directors should undertake a similar course of understanding within their own universities, polytechnics, or institutes of higher education. Alongside their current bargaining sessions about resources with their subject leaders, heads of department, they could engage a series of more intellectual and academic encounters, to discuss the latest issues and developments systematically within each discipline. This might do something to make professional life less gloomy and uncertain than it is at present for many lecturers, and it might also make life more interesting for our directors, otherwise condemned (no doubt quite unfairly) to spend all their time at the intellectual emptiness of managerial life at the top.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID BALY,
Faculty of Education, Arts and Humanities, Essex Institute of Higher Education.

Race revelation

Sir, - In Robin Oakley's interesting review of Peter Ratcliffe's book *Race and Reaction* (*THES*, October 30), the companion volume to Rex and Tomlinson's *Colonial Immigrants* in a British city, he writes that Ratcliffe's book "revealed that one of the samples was actually drawn up inside the Birmingham Housing Department". I would like to point out that this was "revealed" two years ago, on page 324 of the methodological appendix to *Colonial Immigrants*. This appendix went on to discuss possible bias in the sample and to point out that Ratcliffe's book would contain weighted and unweighted tables. It is a pity that the second book was so long in production.

All of us who worked on the *Southworth* race relations project were aware of the need for methodological rigour, and did our best to avoid shortcomings. However, the *Southworth* study, documented by these two volumes, remains one of only two large-scale empirical studies of race relations in Britain in the 1970s.

Yours faithfully,
SALLY TOMLINSON,
Department of Educational Research, Carmel College, Lancaster University.

Flower power

Sir, - I hope that Andy Pearmain (*THES*, November 6) misheard what the vice chancellor of Aston University said at the recent meeting at Aston. It is the university that proposes to sack many of its staff. For it uses to sack many of its staff, for it to spend £7,000 on new flowerbeds,

His and hers

Sir, - I notice that the controversy over the so-called sexist use of the pronoun "he" has been raised again in your correspondence columns (Maureen Cain and Janet Finch, November 6). Perhaps it could be in your newspaper that this point is properly discussed and, one hopes, finally settled.

The confusion arises when people believe that the use of "he", "his" and "him" refer to male creatures; is somehow an inherent function of these words which necessarily influences their use as, for example, correlative to indefinite pronouns such as "anyone".

The root of the confusion is, I think, a misunderstanding of the nature of grammatical terms. Any grammatical label is conventional and serves only to identify some linguistic form; any description of the function of the form must be quite

Loose language

Sir, - Laurie Taylor was recently lampooning the Social Science Research Council in *The THES*. But is this necessary?

A colleague recently drew my attention to paragraph 37 in the council's recent policy paper, *A change in structure for changing circumstances*, a paragraph very relevant to the professional interests of us both (and both of us have had connections with the SSRC in the past). This paragraph attempts to allay the anxieties that may arise for practitioners of disciplines which might not easily fit the council's new committee structure. It reads in part as follows:

But if the way the interests of a

Irish opportunity

Sir, - John Walsh has performed a service (*THES*, November 13) in drawing attention to the many advantages of the Republic of Ireland for overseas students. Yet perhaps he paints too gloomy a picture of colleges lacking room for qualified applicants. In the Department of Modern History in University College, Cork, we welcome applications from overseas students, both for undergraduate-year-abroad programmes and for postgraduate work.

In particular, a new library, now

particular discipline will be treated as a real concern to professional body, council would be interested to receive suggestions as to how this concern can be met. In the case of social anthropology, for instance, anxiety has been expressed that the new structure will fail to continue the encouragement of fundamental work, of a cross-cultural variety, and hence dry up the flow of ideas born of the study of alien society. This most certainly is not the intention - indeed one of council's objectives is to spread around the new committees social anthropologists.

I have italicized some of the peculiarities of the piece of prose. The use of "will" following "if" may possibly be a Freudian slip, but in general

neering completion, will greatly increase opportunities for postgraduate studies.

Fees in Cork are relatively low by international standards. Undergraduates from EEC countries pay £1R380, MA students £1R208 and PhD students £1R140. Those from outside the EEC pay £1R570, £1R312 and £1R210 respectively. It is hardly surprising that American students often find a year in Cork much cheaper than studying at home. Yours faithfully,
J. J. LEE,
Professor of Modern History, University College, Cork.

Policy points

Sir, - The Labour Party and the Social Democratic-Liberal Alliance have expressed serious concern about the long-term effects of Government cuts on education in British universities. Through the hospitality of your columns, may I ask their spokesmen, first, if they intend to restore the deficits if they come to power and, second, if they would be

prepared to pay off any reasonable debts which the universities would incur until then. Their readiness to make these two commitments demonstrates the sincerity of their sentiments about the importance of the British education system.

Yours sincerely,
HAROLD HILLMAN,
3 Merrow Dene,
76 Epsom Road,
Guildford, Surrey.

and for its vice chancellor to say that he regards courses and flowerbeds as of equal importance is both astounding and disgraceful. He should clarify his views on this matter.

Yours sincerely,
RUSSELL PRICE,
2 Steward Avenue, Lancaster.

Cutbacks at Bradford

Sir, - Sheila Allen and her Bradford colleagues (*THES*, November 6) protest at the "socially catastrophic implications of the attack on the university system" which will occur because of the UGC cuts. They protest at the break-up of academic units devoted to scholarly research and the guidance and counselling of students which will, they say, deny higher education development and change and inhibit job mobility. And finally, of course, they protest at the attack on tenure.

As a non-academic reader, I find it easy to laugh with Laurie Taylor but difficult to cry with Sheila Allen.

I haven't noticed these social scientists, some of whom claim to be socialists, protesting so vigorously at the cuts in social services which, to give just one example, are forcing hospitals to send the frail and elderly home to cope by themselves. I haven't seen them squealing about the cuts in further education which is where most working class people get their post-school education. I also haven't noticed the lights blazing in the evenings in the teaching blocks at Bradford University as they struggle to provide a form of education which might be accessible to older and working class students. I haven't noticed their attempts to provide special programmes for the unemployed. I'm not aware of their involvement in any debate about how post-school education and particularly the universities could be made more relevant and accountable to the community.

What I have seen is a powerful defence of academic privilege, of job security for life, of an elite system which enables its employees to enjoy good salaries for vaguely defined duties in rather comfortable surroundings.

Yours faithfully,
SUSANNE JACKSON,
30 Leeds Road,
Mirfield, West Yorkshire.

Sir, - If Bradford University administrators have, as your page one item (November 6) suggests, only just discovered that it pays not to alter clocks all at once, then perhaps we should be glad they are being forced to save public money in the ways most of us have been doing for years. Moving as the letter was (in the same issue) from Bradford staff, one is bound to have some reservations.

Yours faithfully,
H. E. BELL,
Senior Assistant Registrar, Reading University.

Library howler

Sir, - As a librarian I am delighted that Christopher Price has begun to notice the information professions and that he sees the same sort of active role for library/information disseminators that most of us do. (*THES*, October 30).

He clearly has a lot to learn, however. His howler about "female children's librarians" being "quiet curators of books" is hilarious. No group in the profession is more outgoing, more concerned with service to the user and less hidebound by traditional niceties than children's librarians of whatever gender. Yours sincerely,
NORMAN BESWICK,
Librarian, University of London Institute of Education.

Joint course

Sir, - The news item (*THES*, October 23) reporting collaboration between Leicester Polytechnic and University contained a significant error of fact. The postgraduate course in medical statistics is a joint course staffed from both institutions but leads to an MSc awarded by the university, not a polytechnic award validated by the university as you stated. The two mathematics departments collaborate fully in running the course, each contributing areas of expertise not possessed by the other.

Yours sincerely,
P. R. FREEMAN,
Professor of Statistics, Leicester University.
D. CONWAY,
Professor of Computing, Leicester Polytechnic.